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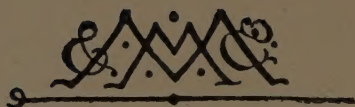






*P. B. ...*

ΗΡΟΔΟΤΟΥ ΠΟΛΥΜΝΙΑ.



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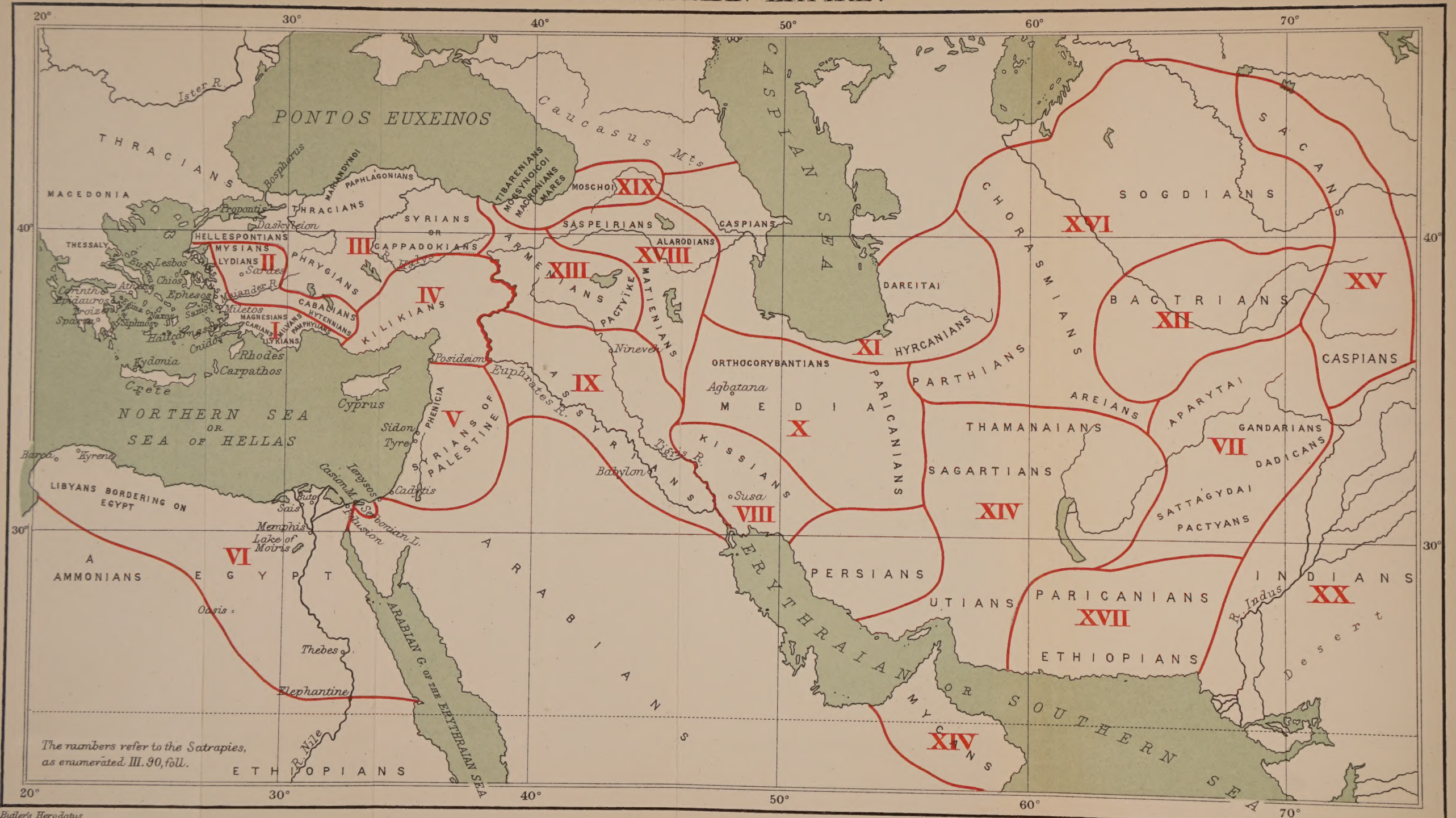
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TORONTO





# THE PERSIAN EMPIRE.





ΗΡΟΔΟΤΟΥ ΠΟΛΥΜΝΙΑ.

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HERODOTUS VII.

WITH NOTES

BY

AGNATA F. BUTLER.

MACMILLAN AND CO., LIMITED  
ST MARTIN'S STREET, LONDON

1911

*First Edition printed 1891.*

*Reprinted 1893, 1899*

*1905, 1911*

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Οὐκ ἔτλας, ὦ ῥίστε Λεωνίδα, αἶτις ἰκέσθαι  
Εὐρώταν, χαλεπῶ σπερχόμενος πολέμῳ·  
ἀλλ' ἐπὶ Θερμοπύλαισι τὸ Περσικὸν ἔθνος ἀμύνων  
ἐδμάθης, πατέρων ἀζόμενος νόμιμα.

PHAENNUS, *Anthologia Graeca*.

---

Non dignatus eras, Vir magne, revisere tutus  
Eurotam, innumero pressus ab hoste, tuum.  
Thermopylis Medos voluisti his finibus arcens,  
Servata patrum religione, mori.

H. M. B.

---

Not thine, brave Chief—to live thou wouldst not deign—  
Home to Eurotas' bank to turn again.  
By the Strait Pass, lone warder, didst thou stand,  
To bar the stranger from the freeman's land.  
There didst thou fall; there, loyal, thou wast laid,  
True liegeman of the laws thy fathers made.

H. M. B.

## PREFACE.

So many Commentators and Translators have made Herodotus the subject of their labours that the writer of a small edition like this can do little more than pick and choose from stores already amassed. It is, therefore, my first duty to mention the authorities whom I have chiefly followed; viz. Schweighäuser (*Lexicon Herodoteum*), Bähr, whose text has, in the main, been adopted, Stein, Abicht, Rawlinson, and Blakesley.

Of these, Stein has been my chief helper in points of scholarship, Rawlinson in illustrative information, and particularly with regard to the tribes, Chap. 61 to 95.

The Grammars which I have found most useful are Krüger's *Griechische Sprachlehre* and Goodwin's *Greek Moods and Tenses*. To the latter I have made frequent reference in the notes.

Besides the assistance derived from books, my special thanks are due to the Rev. A. H. Cooke, of King's College. It was at his suggestion that this little work was originally undertaken, and the notes on the first twenty chapters are, with some considerable exceptions, his own.



I am also greatly indebted to the Master of Christ's College for kindly glancing at the sheets of the Appendix on the Dialect of Herodotus, and for giving me some valuable hints and suggestions.

Lastly, I have received constant and untiring help, in the midst of pressing official duties, from one whose long experience in teaching Greek has made his criticism and counsel unusually valuable. To him I owe, in particular, the punctuation throughout, and also the Latin and English versions of the fine Epigram of Phaennus prefixed to this volume.

A. F. B.

TRINITY LODGE, CAMBRIDGE.

: November, 1890.

## INTRODUCTION.

THE Seventh Book of Herodotus opens with the arrival in Persia of the news of the battle of Marathon and the failure of the second Persian expedition against Greece. It may be well to review very briefly the relations of the two countries to each other up to this time.

In the earlier chapters of his First Book, Herodotus characteristically seeks for the origin of their quarrel in the seizure of the Argive Io by some Phoenicians. In retaliation for this outrage, certain Greeks, he says—he does not know their origin,—laid hands on Europa, and sailed away with her from Tyre. The enmity thus first roused between Europeans and Asiatics was further embittered by the carrying off of Medea from Colchis and of Helen from Sparta. From the Trojan War onwards, the Persians once for all regarded Greece as their enemy<sup>1</sup>, Persia being the representative of Asia and Greece of Europe.

Passing from legend to historical fact, we find the two races brought into antagonism by the fall of the Lydian empire. Croesus, king of Lydia, had eagerly sought for intercourse with Greek life and thought in the Hellenic colonies in Asia Minor. With some of these he made leagues, others he subdued. Through the colonies he became acquainted with their mother country. So it was, that when he entered into conflict with the rising power of Persia under Cyrus, and felt himself on the brink of

<sup>1</sup> Ἀπὸ τούτου αἰεὶ ἠγγήσασθαι (λέγουσι Πέρσαι) τὸ Ἑλληνικὸν σφίσι εἶναι πολέμιον. I. 4

B.C.  
548 ruin, he sent, but too late, for aid from Sparta. At his fall, the Greek cities in Asia Minor fell a prey to the conqueror. They too asked help from the Spartans, who responded by sending a threatening message to Cyrus, which he received with contempt. This would seem to be the first instance of direct contact between Greece and Persia.

B.C.  
518 For many years after this time, during the reigns of Cyrus, Cambyses, and the False Smerdis, the Persian monarchs were too fully occupied with wars abroad and rebellion at home to turn their thoughts toward Greece. Darius, after his accession, was first led to the idea of a campaign against the Greeks of Europe by his consort, the powerful Atossa. In fulfilment of a promise she had made to the Crotoniate slave and physician, Democedes, Atossa expressed her desire to be waited on by Laconian, Argive, Attic, and Corinthian hand-maids, and suggested the mainland of Greece as the goal of a conquering expedition. Darius was already planning the execution of his revenge upon the Scythians, but consented in the meantime to despatch a reconnoitring party to the shores of Greece, under the guidance of the physician himself. After visiting and spying out the ports of Greece proper, Democedes led his companions to Magna Graecia, in Italy, whence he contrived to make good his escape to Croton, thereby securing the sole object of his schemes. The Persians suffered shipwreck on the Iapygian coast, but were saved, and brought home by a Tarentine. By this time, however, Darius had turned his mind to other matters, and no further action resulted from the enterprise.

B.C.  
513 After their conquest by Cyrus, the Ionian cities had become a regular part of the Persian empire, and accordingly sent an important contingent to serve under Darius on his Scythian campaign. By an act of fidelity at a critical moment in this war, Histiaeus, Tyrant of Miletus,



secured the King's esteem, and was rewarded with the gift of Myrcinus on the Strymon. Being afterwards awakened to the danger of allowing this important point to be fortified and held by a Greek, Darius summoned Histiaeus to Susa, and, while loading him with honours, kept him there, a prisoner in all but name.

It was in the hope of procuring a release from this captivity, that Histiaeus sent the celebrated message of revolt to his son-in-law and deputy at Miletus, Aristagoras. After shaving the head of his most trustworthy slave, he branded on it the words which were to rouse the reader to rebellion. Then, having waited for the hair to grow again, he despatched him to Miletus, with the simple and unsuspecting message, that he should bid Aristagoras shave and examine his head. Aristagoras was already eager for revolt, on account of his own unsatisfactory relations with the Persian generals, Artaphernes and Megabates. With the latter he had openly quarrelled. A fruitless expedition against Naxos, which had been undertaken at his instance and under his guidance, had embroiled him also with the powerful Artaphernes, who was Satrap of Sardis and ruler of all the coast land.

From this point dates the outbreak of the "Ionian Revolt." Aristagoras himself, who had little difficulty in winning over his fellow townsmen, gave the signal for rebellion by seizing on those Tyrants who were known to be friendly to Persia, and establishing democracies in their cities. He then started for Sparta, where he tried in vain to bribe king Cleomenes into a promise to send help.

At Athens he was more successful. Twenty ships were promised and sent, those ships that were destined to breed woe to two continents<sup>1</sup>. Soon after the arrival of these vessels, accompanied by five others from Eretria, followed the burning of Sardis by the Greeks. Darius at once realised

B.C.  
499

<sup>1</sup> Αὔται δὲ αἱ νέες ἀρχὴ κακῶν ἐγένοντο "Ἑλλησί τε καὶ βαρ-  
βάροισι. v. 97.

the importance of the revolt. On receiving the news, we are told that he first asked who the Athenians were, then, uttering a prayer for vengeance, shot an arrow into the air, and finally, turning to one of his attendants, bade him repeat to him thrice daily before he tasted food, "O King, remember the Athenians."

But though the insurgents had succeeded in setting fire to the town of Sardis and its temples, they were repelled from the citadel and thrown back upon Ephesus, where they were overtaken and defeated by a Persian army. After this blow, Athens withdrew from the war, and in spite of repeated entreaties from the Ionians refused to give any further help. The Ionians, however, were by no means daunted. They succeeded in securing the alliance of Caria and Cyprus, and in taking possession of Byzantium and the neighbouring Hellespontine cities. But their success was short-lived. The revolt of Cyprus was crushed by a battle near Salamis in that island, in which, although the Ionian fleet defeated the Phoenicians, the Persian army routed the Cyprian land force, through the treachery of certain allies. The conquerors quickly recaptured the several cities of Cyprus, and then proceeded to attack Caria and the Hellespont. The Hellespontines gave little trouble, but the Carians offered a stubborn resistance, and, after suffering two severe defeats, cut off the victorious Persians by an ambush.

Notwithstanding this parting gleam of good fortune, the neck of the insurrection was broken. To none was this clearer than to Aristagoras himself. He lost no time in quitting the country at the head of a band of colonists for Thrace, where he and his followers were soon after killed.

It was at this point in the struggle that Histiaeus arrived from Susa. By lulling the suspicions of Darius, he had obtained leave to return to his native city and quiet the disturbances. Exulting in the success of his manoeuvres,

he presented himself before Artaphernes. But the shrewd Satrap was less easily hoodwinked than his royal Master. In homely phrase he exposed the hypocrisy of the wily Greek and his confederacy with Aristagoras: "Ay, there were two parties to that shoe: *he* stepped into it, but *you* did the stitching"<sup>1</sup>. Histiaeus required no further hint, but immediately fled to Chios. Thence, after an unsuccessful intrigue with certain influential Persians in Sardis, he attempted to return to his home. The Milesians, however, had by this time learnt to put no trust in Tyrants. Being at length well rid of Aristagoras, they were resolved to have no further dealings with his equally unscrupulous and more cunning father-in-law. Histiaeus, who had thus become an object of suspicion and distrust to both parties in the war, took refuge in Lesbos, where he persuaded the inhabitants to lend him ships and men. By means of these he established himself as a pirate at the mouth of the Black Sea. Subsequently, after the capture of Miletus, he fell into the hands of the Persians, during a ravaging foray in Mysia, and was promptly crucified by Artaphernes, who feared he might again win the confidence of Darius. These fears were soon justified, for the King received the news of the execution with grief and indignation, and caused the remains of his friend to be reverently interred.

Meanwhile the Persian commanders had resolved to bring the war to a close by concentrating their forces round Miletus, the source of the rebellion. The Greeks at once decided that resistance could be offered by sea only, and for this purpose mustered their fleet of three hundred and fifty three ships near the Island of Lade, before Miletus, to meet the Persian six hundred. Several days passed without fighting, the Persians endeavouring to sow treachery among the Greeks, while the Greeks, under the wise command of a Phocæan captain, daily

<sup>1</sup> Τοῦτο τὸ ὑπόδημα ἔρραψας μὲν σὺ, ὑπεδήσατο δὲ Ἀρισταγόρης. VI. 1.

exercised and improved their tactics. On the eighth day, however, the unstable and undisciplined Ionians refused to carry out any further the directions of their leader. From that moment order was at an end, and treachery began its work. As the Phoenician ships sailed up to the attack, the Greek contingents one after another deserted and fled, the Samians leading the way; while the few that remained, among whom the Chians distinguished themselves by their bravery, were soon routed by the overwhelming numbers of the enemy.

B.C.  
494

Such was the battle of Lade, which was speedily followed by the capture and destruction of Miletus, and thus ended the Ionian Revolt, in the sixth year from its outbreak. The Ionian and Hellespontine cities were now thoroughly subjugated by the victorious army. Their buildings and shrines were set on fire. The choicest of their inhabitants were carried into captivity. Shortly afterwards the land was surveyed and assessed for a regular yearly tribute.

The rebellion thus stamped out, the Persians were once more able to turn their thoughts to conquest. Mardonius, a youthful and ambitious noble, son-in-law to the King, came down from Susa to take supreme command of an expedition to inflict chastisement on Athens and Eretria. The share which they had taken in the burning of Sardis had been neither forgotten nor forgiven by the Great King. With a powerful fleet and army Mardonius proceeded along the Thracian coast as far as the peninsula of Mount Athos. Here a violent storm burst over the fleet. Dashing the ships upon the rocky shore, it destroyed three hundred of them and over twenty thousand lives. About the same time, Mardonius himself and his land force suffered severely in a night attack from a Thracian tribe, and, in consequence of this double disaster, all that remained of the armament was obliged to retreat in disgrace to Asia.

After the pause of a year, Darius resolved to be no



longer baffled in his purpose of vengeance. He dispatched heralds to all the chief states of Greece, asking for "earth and water" in token of submission. At the same time he gave orders for a muster of war-ships and transports on his own coasts.

From Athens and Sparta the heralds never returned. Their fate is recorded in Chap. 133 of Book VII. Many, however, of the mainland states, and all the islanders submitted to the King's demands. Foremost among the island states stood Aegina, the maritime rival and enemy of Athens, whom the Athenians accused to Sparta of treason to their country. After some delay, caused by dissensions between the two Spartan Kings, and the consequent deposition of Demaratus on the ground of doubtful birth, Aegina was punished by the removal of ten of her chief citizens as hostages to Athens, an event which finally led to war between the rivals.

Darius was now ready to follow up his schemes against Greece. The army and the transports had been mustered, and were placed under the command of Artaphernes, son of the Satrap of Sardis, and Datis, a Mede, accompanied by Hippias, the deposed Athenian Tyrant. The object of the expedition was first to subdue Naxos, which had formerly resisted the Persian arms, and thence to proceed against Athens and Eretria. The orders given were to burn the cities to the ground, and bring the inhabitants bound to Susa. For this purpose the whole force was to be transported by sea from Samos. After conquering Naxos and the other islands which they passed, sacred Delos alone excepted, the Persians arrived at Eretria, and, after a six days' siege, took the city by treachery, and fulfilled their master's commands by enslaving the Eretrians and setting fire to their temples.

Tidings of the impending danger soon reached Athens. A messenger was despatched to Sparta, to beg for immediate help. Fleet of foot, and inspired by the urgency of



his mission, he reached the city the following day. But the Spartans were celebrating the Carnean Feast, and their laws forbade them to march until the moon was full. Their tardy succour arrived only in time to admire Athenian valour on the morrow after the battle. Alone, therefore, aided only by their faithful allies the Plataeans, some nine thousand Athenian citizens prepared to face the masses of the enemy. Then followed the great day of Marathon. The story of the arrival and landing of the Persians, guided by the aged Hippias, of the divisions among the ten Athenian generals, of the swift resolve of Miltiades to fight at all hazards, is too well known to require repetition. The simple yet graphic account of Herodotus<sup>1</sup> is worthy of himself. As in his record of Thermopylae, so in that of Marathon, he gives the facts as he learnt them, and adds but brief comment. His highest words of praise are ἀξίως λόγου, and ἀνὴρ γενόμενος ἀγαθός. Yet he tells us that before this famous day the very name of Mede was sufficient to strike terror into Greeks. The Athenians at Marathon were the first to face the Median dress and Median arms without flinching, and the first to charge the enemy *at a run*.

When the battle was over, and the Persians were again in their ships, it is said that a shield was hoisted on high by some traitor in the city, and that in obedience to this signal the invaders sailed round the promontory of Sunium, to attack Athens from the other side. The Athenians were, however, too prompt for them. As the enemy approached Cynosarges, the victorious army stood ready to receive them. Foiled in their attempt at a surprise, the Persians sailed straight homewards without further endeavour of any sort.

So ended the second expedition against Greece. The announcement at Susa of this disaster, and its effect on the mind of the Great King, is the first statement in the Seventh Book of Herodotus.

# ΗΡΟΔΟΤΟΥ

## ΙΣΤΟΡΙΩΝ ΕΒΔΟΜΗ.

### ΠΟΛΤΜΝΙΑ.

Ἐπεὶ δὲ ἡ ἀγγελίη ἀπίκετο περὶ τῆς μάχης 1  
τῆς ἐν Μαραθῶνι γενομένης παρὰ βασι-  
λέα Δαρείου τὸν Ὑστάσπεος, καὶ πρὶν  
μεγάλως κεχαραγμένον τοῖσι Ἀθηναίοισι  
5 διὰ τὴν ἐς Σάρδεις ἐσβολὴν, καὶ δὴ καὶ  
τότε πολλῷ τε δεινότερα ἐποίεε, καὶ μᾶλλον ὥρ-  
μητο στρατεύεσθαι ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα. Καὶ αὐτίκα  
μὲν ἐπηγγέλλετο πέμπων ἀγγέλους κατὰ πόλεις,  
ἐτοιμάζειν στρατιὴν, πολλῷ πλέω ἐπιτάσσεων ἐκά-  
10 στοισι ἢ πρότερον παρεῖχον, καὶ νέας τε καὶ  
ἵππους καὶ σῖτον καὶ πλοῖα. τούτων δὲ περιαγ-  
γελλομένων ἡ Ἀσίη ἐδονέετο ἐπὶ τρία ἔτεα, κατα-  
λεγομένων τε τῶν ἀρίστων, ὡς ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα  
στρατευσομένων, καὶ παρασκευαζομένων. Τετάρτῳ  
5 δὲ ἔτει Αἰγύπτιοι ὑπὸ Καμβύσειω δουλωθέντες  
ἀπέστησαν ἀπὸ Περσέων· ἐνθαῦτα δὴ καὶ μᾶλλον  
ὥρμητο καὶ ἐπ' ἀμφοτέρους στρατεύεσθαι. Στελ- 2  
λομένου δὲ Δαρείου ἐπ' Αἴγυπτον καὶ  
Ἀθήνας, τῶν παίδων αὐτοῦ στάσις ἐγένετο  
μεγάλη περὶ τῆς ἡγεμονίης, ὡς δεῖ μιν

Darius arms  
against  
Athens.  
B.C. 490.  
Revolt of  
Egypt.

Rival claims  
to the  
succession.

ἀποδέξαντα βασιλέα κατὰ τὸν Περσέων νόμον, 5  
οὕτω στρατεύεσθαι. Ἦσαν γὰρ Δαρείῳ καὶ πρό-  
τερον ἢ βασιλεύσαι γεγονότες τρεῖς παῖδες ἐκ τῆς  
προτέρης γυναικὸς, Γωβρύεω θυγατρὸς, καὶ βασι-  
λεύσαντι ἐξ Ἀτόσσης τῆς Κύρου ἕτεροι τέσσερες.  
τῶν μὲν δὴ προτέρων ἐπρέσβευε Ἀρταβαζάνης, 10  
τῶν δὲ ἐπιγενομένων Ξέρξης. ἔοντες δὲ μητρὸς  
οὐ τῆς αὐτῆς ἐστασίαζον, ὁ μὲν Ἀρταβαζάνης,  
κατ' ὅ τι πρεσβύτατός τε εἴη παντὸς τοῦ γόνου,  
καὶ ὅτι νομιζόμενα εἴη πρὸς πάντων ἀνθρώπων,  
τὸν πρεσβύτατον τὴν ἀρχὴν ἔχειν Ξέρξης δὲ, ὡς 15  
Ἀτόσσης τε παῖς εἴη, τῆς Κύρου θυγατρὸς, καὶ  
ὅτι Κύρος εἴη ὁ κτησάμενος τοῖσι Πέρσησι τὴν  
3 ἐλευθερίην. Δαρείου δὲ οὐκ ἀποδεικνυ-  
Xerxes  
named as  
heir. μένου κω γνώμην, ἐτύγχανε κατὰ τῷτο  
τούτοις καὶ Δημάρητος ὁ Ἀρίστωνος,  
ἀναβεβηκὼς ἐς Σοῦσα, ἐστερημένος τε τῆς ἐν  
Σπάρτῃ βασιληΐης, καὶ φυγὴν ἐπιβαλὼν ἑωυτῷ ἐκ 5  
Λακεδαίμονος. οὗτος ὠνὴρ πυθόμενος τῶν Δαρείου  
παίδων τὴν διαφορὴν, ἐλθὼν, ὡς ἡ φάτις μιν ἔχει,  
Ξέρξη συνεβούλευε λέγειν πρὸς τοῖσι ἔλεγε ἔπεσι,  
ὡς αὐτὸς μὲν γένοιτο Δαρείῳ ἤδη βασιλεύοντι καὶ  
ἔχοντι τὸ Περσέων κράτος, Ἀρταβαζάνης δὲ ἔτι 10  
ιδιώτῃ ἔοντι Δαρείῳ, οὐκ ὦν οὐτ' οἶκός εἴη οὔτε  
δίκαιον, ἄλλον τινὰ τὸ γέρας ἔχειν πρὸ ἑωυτοῦ·  
ἐπεὶ γε καὶ ἐν Σπάρτῃ, ἔφη ὁ Δημάρητος ὑποτιθέ-  
μενος, οὕτω νομίζεσθαι, ἣν οἱ μὲν προγεγονότες  
ἔωσι πρὶν ἢ τὸν πατέρα σφέων βασιλεύσαι, ὁ δὲ 15  
βασιλεύοντι ὀψίγονος ἐπιγένηται, τοῦ ἐπιγενομέ-  
νου τὴν ἔκδεξιν τῆς βασιληΐης γίνεσθαι. Χρησα-

μένου δὲ Ξέρξῳ τῇ Δημαρήτου ὑποθήκῃ, γνοὺς ὁ  
 Δαρεῖος, ὡς λέγοι δίκαια, βασιλέα μιν ἀπέδεξε.  
 20 δοκέει δ' ἐμοὶ καὶ ἄνευ ταύτης τῆς ὑποθήκης βασι-  
 λεύσαι ἂν Ξέρξης· ἡ γὰρ Ἀτοσσα εἶχε τὸ πᾶν  
 κράτος. Ἀποδέξας δὲ βασιλέα Πέρσῃσι Δαρεῖος 4  
 Ξέρξεα ὥρμητο στρατεύεσθαι. ἀλλὰ γὰρ μετὰ ταῦ-  
 τά τε καὶ Αἰγύπτου ἀπόστασιν τῷ ὑστέρῳ ἔτει πα-  
 ρασκευαζόμενον συνήνεικε αὐτὸν Δαρεῖον,  
 5 βασιλεύσαντα τὰ πάντα ἔξ τε καὶ τριή-  
 κοντα ἔτεα, ἀποθανεῖν· οὐδέ οἱ ἐξεγένετο  
 οὔτε τοὺς ἀπεστεῶτας Αἰγυπτίους οὔτε Ἀθηναίους  
 τιμωρήσασθαι. Ἀποθανόντος δὲ Δαρείου ἡ βα-  
 σιλητὴ ἀνεχώρησε εἰς τὸν παῖδα τὸν ἐκείνου  
 10 Ξέρξεα.

Death of  
 Darius.  
 B.C. 485.

Ὁ τοίνυν Ξέρξης ἐπὶ μὲν τὴν Ἑλλάδα οὐδα- 5  
 μῶς πρόθυμος ἦν κατ' ἀρχὰς στρατεύ-  
 εσθαι, ἐπὶ δὲ Αἰγυπτου ἐποιέετο τὴν  
 στρατιῆς ἄγερσιν. παρεὼν δὲ καὶ δυνά-  
 5 μενος παρ' αὐτῷ μέγιστον Περσέων Μαρδόνιος  
 ὁ Γωβρύεω, ὃς ἦν Ξέρξῃ μὲν ἀνεψιὸς, Δαρείου δὲ  
 ἀδελφεῆς παῖς, τοιούτου λόγου εἶχετο, λέγων·  
 Δέσποτα, οὐκ οἶκός ἐστι Ἀθηναίους, ἐργασαμέ-  
 νους πολλὰ ἤδη κακὰ Πέρσας, μὴ οὐ δοῦναι δίκας  
 10 τῶν ἐποίησαν. ἀλλὰ τὸ μὲν νῦν ταῦτα πρήσσοις,  
 τά περ ἐν χερσὶ ἔχεις· ἡμερώσας δὲ Αἰγυπτου τὴν  
 ἐξυβρίσασαν στρατηλάτεε ἐπὶ τὰς Ἀθήνας, ἵνα  
 λόγος τέ σε ἔχῃ πρὸς ἀνθρώπων ἀγαθός, καί τις  
 ὕστερον φυλάσσεται ἐπὶ γῆν τὴν σὴν στρατεύ-  
 15 εσθαι. Οὗτος μὲν οἱ ὁ λόγος ἦν τιμωρός· τούτου  
 δὲ τοῦ λόγου παρενθήκην ποιέέσκετο τήνδε, ὡς ἡ

Mardonius  
 incites  
 Xerxes  
 against  
 Greece.



Εὐρώπῃ περικαλλῆς χώρα, καὶ δένδρεα παντοῖα  
φέρει τὰ ἡμέρα, ἀρετὴν τε ἄκρην· βασιλεῖ τε  
6 The Aleuadae and Pisistratidae persuade him to prepare an expedition. μούνῳ θνητῶν ἀξίῃ ἐκτῆσθαι. Ταῦτα  
δὲ ἔλεγε, οἷα νεωτέρων ἔργων ἐπιθυμη-  
τῆς ἐὼν, καὶ θέλων αὐτὸς τῆς Ἑλλάδος  
ὑπαρχος εἶναι. χρόνῳ δὲ κατεργάσατό  
τε· καὶ ἀνέπεισε Ξέρξεα, ὥστε ποιέειν ταῦτα· συνέ- 5  
λαβε γὰρ καὶ ἄλλα οἱ σύμμαχα γενόμενα ἐς τὸ  
πείθεσθαι Ξέρξεα. τοῦτο μὲν ἀπὸ τῆς Θεσσαλίας  
παρὰ τῶν Ἀλευαδέων ἀπιγμένοι ἄγγελοι ἐπεκα-  
λέοντο βασιλέα, πᾶσαν προθυμίην παρεχόμενοι,  
ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα· οἱ δὲ Ἀλευάδαι οὔτοι ἦσαν 10  
Θεσσαλίας βασιλεῖς. τοῦτο δὲ Πεισιστρατιδέων  
οἱ ἀναβεβηκότες ἐς Σοῦσα, τῶν τε αὐτῶν λόγων  
ἐχόμενοι τῶν καὶ οἱ Ἀλευάδαι, καὶ δὴ τι πρὸς  
τούτοις ἔτι πλέον προσωρέγοντό οἱ, ἔχοντες Ὀνο-  
μάκριτον, ἄνδρα Ἀθηναῖον, χρησμολόγον τε καὶ 15  
διαθέτην χρησμῶν τῶν Μουσαίου. ἀναβεβήκεσαν  
γὰρ τὴν ἔχθρην προκαταλυσάμενοι· ἐξηλάθη γὰρ  
ὑπὸ Ἰππάρχου τοῦ Πεισιστράτου ὁ Ὀνομάκριτος  
ἐξ Ἀθηνέων, ἐπ' αὐτοφώρῳ ἀλούς ὑπὸ Λάσου τοῦ  
Ἑρμιονέος ἐμποιέων ἐς τὰ Μουσαίου χρησμὸν, ὡς 20  
αἱ ἐπὶ Λήμνου ἐπικείμεναι νῆσοι ἀφανιζοίατο κατὰ  
τῆς θαλάσσης. διὸ ἐξήλασέ μιν ὁ Ἰππαρχος,  
πρότερον χρεώμενος τὰ μάλιστα. Τότε δὲ συνα-  
ναβὰς, ὅκως ἀπίκοιτο ἐς ὄψιν τὴν βασιλέως, λεγόν-  
των τῶν Πεισιστρατιδέων περὶ αὐτοῦ σεμνοὺς 25  
λόγους, κατέλεγε τῶν χρησμῶν· εἰ μὲν τι ἐνέοι  
σφάλμα φέρον τῷ βαρβάρῳ, τῶν μὲν ἔλεγε οὐδέν·  
ὁ δὲ τὰ εὐτυχέστατα ἐκλεγόμενος ἔλεγε, τὸν τε



Ἑλλήσποντον ὥς ζευχθῆναι χρεὼν εἴη ὑπ' ἀνδρὸς  
 30 Πέρσεω, τὴν τε ἔλασιν ἐξηγεόμενος. οὗτός τε δὴ  
 χρησμοδέων προσεφέρετο καὶ οἱ τε Πεισιστρα-  
 τίδαι καὶ οἱ Ἀλευάδαι γνώμας ἀποδεικνύμενοι.

Ὡς δὲ ἀνεγνώσθη Ξέρξης στρατεύεσθαι  
 ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα, ἐνθαῦτα δευτέρῳ μὲν  
 ἔτει μετὰ τὸν θάνατον τὸν Δαρείου πρῶτα  
 στρατηῆν ποιέεται ἐπὶ τοὺς ἀπεστεῶτας. τούτους  
 5 μὲν νυν καταστρεψάμενος, καὶ Αἴγυπτον πᾶσαν  
 πολλὸν δουλοτέρην ποιήσας ἢ ἐπὶ Δαρείου ἦν,  
 ἐπιτρέπει Ἀχαιμένει, ἀδελφεῷ μὲν ἑωυτοῦ, Δα-  
 ρείου δὲ παιδί. Ἀχαιμένεα μὲν νυν ἐπιτροπεύοντα  
 Αἰγύπτου χρόνῳ μετέπειτα ἐφόνευσε Ἰνάρως ὁ  
 10 Ψαμμητίχου, ἀνὴρ Λίβυς.

The Revolt  
of Egypt  
crushed.  
B.C. 484.

7

Ξέρξης δὲ μετὰ Αἰγύπτου ἄλωσιν, ὥς ἔμελλε 8  
 ἐς χεῖρας ἄξεσθαι τὸ στράτευμα τὸ ἐπὶ  
 τὰς Ἀθήνας, σύλλογον ἐπὶ κλητον Περ-  
 σέων τῶν ἀρίστων ἐποιέετο, ἵνα γνώμας  
 5 τε πύθηται σφέων, καὶ αὐτὸς ἐν πᾶσι εἴπῃ τὰ  
 θέλει. Ὡς δὲ συνελέχθησαν, ἔλεξε Ξέρξης τάδε·  
 Ἄνδρες Πέρσαι, οὗτ' αὐτὸς κατηγήσομαι νόμον  
 τόνδε ἐν ὑμῖν τιθεῖς, παραδεξάμενός τε αὐτῷ χρή-  
 σομαι. ὥς γὰρ ἐγὼ πυνθάνομαι τῶν πρεσβυτέρων,  
 10 οὐδαμὰ κω ἡτρεμήσαμεν, ἐπεὶ τε παρελάβομεν  
 τὴν ἡγεμονίην τήνδε παρὰ Μήδων, Κύρου κατε-  
 λόντος Ἀστυάγεα· ἀλλὰ θεός τε οὕτω ἄγει, καὶ  
 αὐτοῖσι ἡμῖν πολλὰ ἐπέπουσι συμφέρεται ἐπὶ τὸ  
 ἄμεινον. Τὰ μὲν νυν Κῦρός τε καὶ Καμβύσης  
 15 πατὴρ τε ἐμὸς Δαρεῖος κατεργάσαντο καὶ προσεκ-  
 τήσαντο ἔθνεα, ἐπισταμένοισι εὖ οὐκ ἂν τις λέγοι.

Xerxes pro-  
pounds his  
scheme  
to a Council  
of Nobles.

Ἐγὼ δὲ, ἐπεὶ τε παρέλαβον τὸν θρόνον, τοῦτο  
 ἐφρόντιζον, ὅπως μὴ λείψομαι τῶν πρότερον γενο-  
 μένων ἐν τιμῇ τῇδε, μηδὲ ἐλάσσω προσκλήσομαι  
 δύναμιν Πέρσῃσι. φροντίζων δὲ εὐρίσκω ἅμα μὲν 20  
 κῦδος ἡμῖν τε προσγινόμενον, χώραν τε τῆς νῦν  
 ἐκτήμεθα οὐκ ἐλάσσοινα οὐδὲ φλαυροτέρην παμφο-  
 ρωτέρην τε, ἅμα δὲ τιμωρίην τε καὶ τίσιν γινο-  
 μένην. διὸ ὑμέας νῦν ἐγὼ συνέλεξα, ἵνα τὸ νοέω  
 2 πρῆσσειν ὑπερθέωμαι ὑμῖν. Μέλλω, ζεύξας τὴν 25  
 Ἑλλησποντον, ἐλᾶν στρατὸν διὰ τῆς Εὐρώπης  
 ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα, ἵνα Ἀθηναίους τιμωρήσομαι, ὅσα  
 δὴ πεποιήκασι Πέρσας τε καὶ πατέρα τὸν ἐμόν.  
 Ὡρᾶτε μὲν νυν καὶ Δαρεῖον ἰθύοντα στρατεύεσθαι  
 ἐπὶ τοὺς ἄνδρας τούτους. ἀλλ' ὁ μὲν τετελεύτηκε, 30  
 καὶ οὐκ ἐξεγένετό οἱ τιμωρήσασθαι· ἐγὼ δὲ ὑπὲρ  
 τε ἐκείνου καὶ τῶν ἄλλων Περσέων οὐ πρότερον  
 παύσομαι, πρὶν ἢ ἔλω τε καὶ πυρώσω τὰς Ἀθήνας,  
 οἳ γε ἐμὲ καὶ πατέρα τὸν ἐμόν ὑπῆρξαν ἄδικα  
 ποιεῦντες. πρῶτα μὲν ἐς Σάρδεις ἐλθόντες ἅμα 35  
 Ἀρισταγόρῃ τῷ Μιλησίῳ, δούλῳ δὲ ἡμετέρῳ,  
 ἀπικόμενοι ἐνέπρησαν τὰ τε ἄλσεα καὶ τὰ  
 ἱρὰ, δεύτερα δὲ ἡμέας οἷα ἔρξαν ἐς τὴν σφε-  
 τέρην ἀποβάντας, ὅτε Δᾶτις τε καὶ Ἀρτα-  
 φέρνης ἐστρατήγεον, τὰ ἐπίστασθέ κου πάντες. 40  
 3 Τούτων μέντοι εἵνεκα ἀνάρτημαι ἐπ' αὐτοὺς στρα-  
 τεύεσθαι. ἀγαθὰ δὲ ἐν αὐτοῖσι τοσάδε ἀνευρίσκω  
 λογιζόμενος· εἰ τούτους τε καὶ τοὺς τούτοισι  
 πλησιοχώρους καταστρεψόμεθα, οἳ Πέλοπος τοῦ  
 Φρυγὸς νέμονται χώραν, γῆν τὴν Περσίδα ἀπο- 45  
 δέξομεν τῷ Διὸς αἰθέρι ὁμοιούρουσαν· οὐ γὰρ δὴ

χώρην γε οὐδεμίαν κατόψεται ὁ ἥλιος ὁμουρέουσιν  
 τῇ ἡμετέρῃ, ἀλλὰ σφεας πάσας ἐγὼ ἅμα ὑμῖν μίαν  
 χώρην θήσω, διὰ πάσης διεξελθὼν τῆς Εὐρώπης.  
 50 πυνθάνομαι γὰρ ὧδε ἔχειν· οὔτε τινὰ πόλιν ἀνδρῶν  
 οὐδεμίαν, οὔτε ἔθνος οὐδὲν ἀνθρώπων ὑπολείπεσ-  
 θαι, τὸ ἡμῖν οἶόν τε ἔσται ἐλθεῖν ἐς μάχην, τούτων  
 τῶν κατέλεξα ὑπεξαίρημένων. οὕτω οἱ τε ἡμῖν  
 αἵτιοι ἔξουσιν δούλιον ζυγόν, οἱ τε ἀναίτιοι. Ἵ Τρεῖς 4  
 55 δ' ἂν μοι τάδε ποιέοντες χαρίζοισθε. ἐπεὰν ὑμῖν  
 σημήνω τὸν χρόνον, ἐς τὸν ἥκειν δεῖ, προθύμως  
 πάντα τινὰ ὑμέων χρήσει παρεῖναι· ὃς ἂν δὲ ἔχων  
 ἦκη παρεσκευασμένον στρατὸν κάλλιστα, δώσω οἱ  
 δῶρα, τὰ τιμιώτατα νομίζεται εἶναι ἐν ἡμετέρου.  
 60 ποιητέα μὲν νυν ταῦτά ἐστι οὕτω. Ἵ Ἵνα δὲ μὴ ἰδιο-  
 βουλεύειν ὑμῖν δοκέω, τίθημι τὸ πρῆγμα ἐς μέσον,  
 γνώμην κελεύων ὑμέων τὸν βουλόμενον ἀποφαί-  
 νεσθαι. Ταῦτα εἶπας ἐπαύετο.

Μετ' αὐτὸν δὲ Μαρδόnius ἐλεγεν· ὦ δέσποτα, 9  
 οὐ μόνον εἰς τῶν γενομένων Περσέων  
 ἄριστος, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν ἐσομένων, ὃς τά  
 τε ἄλλα λέγων ἐπῖκεο ἄριστα καὶ ἀλη-  
 5 θέστατα, καὶ Ἵωνας τοὺς ἐν τῇ Εὐρώπῃ κατοικη-  
 μένους οὐκ ἐάσεις καταγελάσαι ἡμῖν, ἐόντας ἀναξι-  
 ούς. καὶ γὰρ δεινὸν ἂν εἴη πρῆγμα, εἰ Σάκας μὲν  
 καὶ Ἵνδους καὶ Αἰθιοπίας τε καὶ Ἀσσυρίους ἄλλα  
 τε ἔθνεα πολλὰ καὶ μεγάλα, ἀδίκησαντα Πέρσας  
 10 οὐδὲν, ἀλλὰ δύναμιν προσκτᾶσθαι βουλόμενοι  
 καταστρεφάμενοι δούλους ἔχομεν, Ἵ Ἑλληνας δὲ  
 ὑπάρξαντας ἀδικίης οὐ τιμωρησόμεθα· τί δείσαντες;  
 κοίην πλήθεος συστροφήν; κοίην δὲ χρημάτων

Speech of  
 Mardonius in  
 favour of the  
 expedition.

1 δύναμιν; Τῶν ἐπιστάμεθα μὲν τὴν μάχην, ἐπιστά-  
 μεθα δὲ τὴν δύναμιν ἐοῦσαν ἀσθενέα· ἔχομεν δὲ 15  
 αὐτῶν παῖδας καταστρεφάμενοι τούτους, οἳ ἐν τῇ  
 ἡμετέρῃ κατοικημένοι Ἴωνές τε καὶ Αἰολέες καὶ  
 Δωριέες καλέονται. Ἐπειρήθην δὲ καὶ αὐτὸς ἤδη  
 ἐπελαύνων ἐπὶ τοὺς ἄνδρας τούτους, ὑπὸ πατρὸς  
 τοῦ σοῦ κελευσθείς· καὶ μοι μέχρι Μακεδονίης 20  
 ἐλάσαντι καὶ ὀλίγον ἀπολιπόντι ἐς αὐτὰς Ἀθήνας  
 2 ἀπικέσθαι οὐδεὶς ἠντιώθη ἐς μάχην. Καί τοι γε  
 ἐώθασι Ἕλληνες, ὥς πυνθάνομαι, ἀβουλότατα  
 πολέμους ἵστασθαι ὑπὸ τε ἀγνωμοσύνης καὶ σκαιό-  
 τητος. ἐπεὰν γὰρ ἀλλήλοισι πόλεμον προείπωσι, 25  
 ἐξευρόντες τὸ κάλλιστον χωρίον καὶ λειότατον, ἐς  
 τοῦτο κατιόντες μάχονται, ὥστε σὺν κακῷ μεγάλῳ  
 οἱ νικῶντες ἀπαλλάσσονται· περὶ δὲ τῶν ἐσσω-  
 μένων οὐδὲ λέγω ἀρχὴν, ἐξώλεες γὰρ δὴ γίνονται·  
 τοὺς χρῆν, ἔοντας ὁμογλώσσους, κήρυξί τε δια- 30  
 χρεωμένους καὶ ἀγγέλοισι καταλαμβάνειν τὰς  
 διαφορὰς, καὶ παντὶ μᾶλλον ἢ μάχῃσι· εἰ δὲ  
 πάντως ἔδεε πολεμέειν πρὸς ἀλλήλους, ἐξευρίσκειν  
 χρῆν, τῇ ἐκάτεροί εἰσι δυσχειρωτότατοι, καὶ ταύτῃ  
 πειρᾶν. τρόπῳ τοίνυν οὐ χρηστῷ Ἕλληνες δια- 35  
 χρεώμενοι, ἐμέο ἐλάσαντος μέχρι Μακεδονίης γῆς,  
 3 οὐκ ἦλθον ἐς τούτου λόγον, ὥστε μάχεσθαι. Σοὶ  
 δὲ δὴ μέλλει τις, ὦ βασιλεῦ, ἀντιώσεσθαι πόλεμον  
 προσφέρων, ἄγοντι καὶ πλήθος τὸ ἐκ τῆς Ἀσίας  
 καὶ νέας τὰς ἀπάσας; ὥς μὲν ἐγὼ δοκέω, οὐκ ἐς 40  
 τοῦτο θράσεος ἀνήκει τὰ Ἑλλήνων πρήγματα. εἰ  
 δὲ ἄρα ἐγὼ γε ψευσθείην γνώμη, καὶ ἐκεῖνοι ἐπαρ-  
 θέντες ἀβουλίῃ ἔλθοιεν ἡμῖν ἐς μάχην, μάθοιεν ἂν,



ὥς εἶμεν ἀνθρώπων ἄριστοι τὰ πολέμια. Ἔστω  
 45 δ' ὦν μηδὲν ἀπείρητον· αὐτόματον γὰρ οὐδὲν, ἀλλ'  
 ἀπὸ πείρης πάντα ἀνθρώποισι φιλέει γίνεσθαι.  
 Μαρδόνιος μὲν τοσαῦτα ἐπιλεήνας τὴν Ξέρξῃ  
 γνώμην ἐπέπαυτο.

Σιωπῶντων δὲ τῶν ἄλλων Περσέων, καὶ οὐ 10  
 τολμώντων γνώμην ἀποδείκνυσθαι ἀν-  
 τὴν τῇ προκειμένῃ, Ἀρτάβανος ὁ  
 Ὑστάσπεος, πάτρως ἐὼν Ξέρξῃ, τῷ δὴ  
 5 καὶ πίσυνος ἐὼν, ἔλεγε τάδε· ὦ βασιλεῦ, μὴ  
 λεχθισέων μὲν γνωμέων ἀντιέων ἀλλήλησι, οὐκ  
 ἔστι τὴν ἀμείνω αἰρεόμενον ἐλέσθαι, ἀλλὰ δεῖ τῇ  
 εἰρημένῃ χρῆσθαι, λεχθισέων δὲ ἔστι· ὥσπερ τὸν  
 χρυσὸν τὸν ἀκήρατον αὐτὸν μὲν ἐπ' ἐωυτοῦ οὐ  
 10 διαγινώσκομεν, ἐπεὰν δὲ παρατρίψωμεν ἄλλῳ  
 χρυσῷ, διαγινώσκομεν τὸν ἀμείνω. Ἐγὼ δὲ καὶ  
 πατρὶ τῷ σῷ, ἀδελφεῷ δὲ ἐμῷ, Δαρείῳ, ἡγόρευον  
 μὴ στρατεύεσθαι ἐπὶ Σκύθας, ἄνδρας οὐδαμῶθι γῆς  
 ἄστὶ νέμοντας· ὁ δὲ, ἐλπίζων Σκύθας τοὺς νο-  
 15 μάδας καταστρέψεσθαι, ἐμοί τε οὐκ ἐπείθετο, στρα-  
 τευσάμενός τε πολλούς τε καὶ ἀγαθοὺς τῆς στρατιῆς  
 ἀποβαλὼν ἀπῆλθε. σὺ δὲ, ὦ βασιλεῦ, μέλλεις ἐπ'  
 ἄνδρας στρατεύεσθαι πολλὸν ἀμείνονας ἢ Σκύθας,  
 οἳ κατὰ θάλασσαν τε ἄριστοι καὶ κατὰ γῆν  
 20 λέγονται εἶναι. τὸ δὲ αὐτοῖσι ἔνεστι δεινὸν, ἐμέ  
 σοι δίκαιόν ἐστι φράζειν. Ζεύξας φῆς τὸν Ἑλλή-  
 σποντον ἐλᾶν στρατὸν διὰ τῆς Εὐρώπης ἐς τὴν  
 Ἑλλάδα· καὶ δὴ καὶ συνήνεικε ἢ τοι κατὰ γῆν ἢ  
 καὶ κατὰ θάλασσαν ἐσσωθῆναι, ἢ καὶ κατ' ἀμφό-  
 25 τερα. οἱ γὰρ ἄνδρες λέγονται εἶναι ἄλκιμοι·

Speech of  
 Artabanus  
 against the  
 expedition.



πάρεστι δὲ καὶ σταθμώσασθαι, εἰ στρατιήν γε  
 τοσαύτην σὺν Δάτι καὶ Ἀρταφέρνει ἔλθουσιν  
 εἰς τὴν Ἀπτικήν χώρην μῦνοι Ἀθηναῖοι διέφθειραν.  
 οὐκ ὦν ἀμφοτέρῃ σφι ἐχώρησε· ἀλλ', ἣν τῆσι  
 νηυσὶ ἐμβάλωσι, καὶ νικήσαντες ναυμαχίῃ πλέωσι 30  
 εἰς τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον, καὶ ἔπειτα λύσωσι τὴν γέ-  
 3 φυραν, τοῦτο δὴ, βασιλεῦ, γίνεται δεινόν. Ἐγὼ  
 δὲ οὐδεμιῇ σοφίῃ οἰκῆτῃ αὐτὸς ταῦτα συμβάλ-  
 λομαι, ἀλλ' οἷόν κοτε ἡμέας ὀλίγου ἐδέησε κατα-  
 λαβεῖν πάθος, ὅτε πατὴρ σὸς ζεύξας Βόσπορον 35  
 τὸν Θρηϊκίον, γεφυρώσας δὲ ποταμὸν Ἰστρου,  
 διέβη ἐπὶ Σκύθας· τότε παντοῖοι ἐγένοντο Σκύθαι  
 δεόμενοι Ἰώνων λύσαι τὸν πόρον, τοῖσι ἐπιτέ-  
 τραπτο ἡ φυλακὴ τῶν γεφυρέων τοῦ Ἰστρου. καὶ  
 τότε γε Ἰστιαῖος ὁ Μιλήτου τύραννος εἰ ἐπέσπετο 40  
 τῶν ἄλλων τυράννων τῇ γνώμῃ, μηδὲ ἠντιώθη,  
 διέργαστο ἂν τὰ Περσέων πρήγματα. καὶ τοι καὶ  
 λόγῳ ἀκοῦσαι δεινόν, ἐπ' ἀνδρὶ γε ἐνὶ πάντα τὰ  
 4 βασιλέος πρήγματα γεγενῆσθαι. Σὺ ὦν μὴ βού-  
 λευ εἰς κίνδυνον μηδένα τοιοῦτον ἀπικέσθαι, μη- 45  
 δεμιῆς ἀνάγκης εἶσσης· ἀλλ' ἐμοὶ πείθευ. νῦν μὲν  
 τὸν σύλλογον τόνδε διάλυσον· αὐτὶς δὲ, ὅταν τοι  
 δοκέῃ, προσκεψάμενος ἐπὶ σεωυτοῦ, προαγόρευε  
 τά τοι δοκέει εἶναι ἄριστα. τὸ γὰρ εὖ βουλευέσθαι  
 κέρδος μέγιστον εὐρίσκω εἶναι. εἰ γὰρ καὶ ἐναντιω- 50  
 θῆναί τι θέλει, βεβούλευται μὲν οὐδὲν ἔσσουν εὖ,  
 ἔσσωται δὲ ὑπὸ τῆς τύχης τὸ βούλευμα· ὁ δὲ  
 βουλευσάμενος αἰσχυρῶς, εἴ οἱ ἡ τύχη ἐπίσποιτο,  
 εὖρημα εὖρηκε, ἔσσουν δὲ οὐδὲν οἱ κακῶς βεβούλευ-  
 5 ται. Ὅρας τὰ ὑπερέχοντα ζῶα ὡς κεραυνοῖ ὁ 55

θεός, οὐδὲ ἐὰ φαντάζεσθαι, τὰ δὲ σμικρὰ οὐδέν μιν  
 κνίξει; ὁρᾷς δὲ ὡς ἐς οἰκήματα τὰ μέγιστα αἰεὶ καὶ  
 δένδρεα τὰ τοιαῦτα ἀποσκήπτει τὰ βέλεα; φιλέει  
 γὰρ ὁ θεὸς τὰ ὑπερέχοντα πάντα κολούειν. οὕτω  
 60 δὴ καὶ στρατὸς πολλὸς ὑπὸ ὀλίγου διαφθείρεται  
 κατὰ τοιόνδε. ἐπεὰν σφι ὁ θεὸς φθονήσας φόβον  
 ἐμβάλη ἢ βροντὴν, δι' ὧν ἐφθάρησαν ἀναξίως  
 ἑωυτῶν οὐ γὰρ ἐὰ φρονέειν μέγα ὁ θεὸς ἄλλον  
 ἢ ἑωυτόν. Ἐπείχθῆναι μὲν νυν πᾶν πρῆγμα 6  
 65 τίκτει σφάλματα, ἐκ τῶν ζημίαι μεγάλαι φιλέουσι  
 γίνεσθαι· ἐν δὲ τῷ ἐπισχεῖν ἔνεστι ἀγαθὰ, εἰ μὴ  
 παραυτίκα δοκέοντα εἶναι, ἀλλ' ἀνὰ χρόνον ἐξεύροι  
 τις αὖν. Σοὶ μὲν δὴ ταῦτα, ὦ βασιλεῦ, συμβου- 7  
 λεύω. Σὺ δὲ, ὦ παῖ Γωβρύεω Μαρδόνιε, παῦσαι  
 70 λέγων λόγους ματαίους περὶ Ἑλλήνων, οὐκ ἔοντων  
 ἀξίων φλαύρως ἀκούειν. Ἑλληνας γὰρ διαβάλλων  
 ἐπαίρεις αὐτὸν βασιλέα στρατεύεσθαι· αὐτοῦ δὲ  
 τούτου εἵνεκα δοκέεις μοι πᾶσαν προθυμίην ἐκτεί-  
 νειν. μὴ νυν οὕτω γένηται. διαβολὴ γὰρ ἐστι  
 75 δεινότατον, ἐν τῇ δύο μὲν εἰσι οἱ ἀδικέοντες, εἷς δὲ  
 ὁ ἀδικεόμενος. ὁ μὲν γὰρ διαβάλλων ἀδικεῖ, οὐ  
 παρεόντος κατηγορέων· ὁ δὲ ἀδικεῖ, ἀναπειθόμενος  
 πρὶν ἢ ἀτρεκέως ἐκμάθῃ. ὁ δὲ δὴ ἀπεὼν τοῦ  
 λόγου τάδε ἐν αὐτοῖσι ἀδικέεται, διαβληθεὶς τε  
 80 ὑπὸ τοῦ ἑτέρου καὶ νομισθεὶς πρὸς τοῦ ἑτέρου  
 κακὸς εἶναι. Ἄλλ' εἰ δὴ δεῖ γε πάντως ἐπὶ τοὺς 8  
 ἄνδρας τούτους στρατεύεσθαι, φέρε, βασιλεὺς μὲν  
 αὐτὸς ἐν ἡθεσι τοῖσι Περσέων μενέτω· ἡμέων δὲ  
 ἀμφοτέρων παραβαλλομένων τὰ τέκνα στρατη-  
 85 λάτῃε αὐτὸς σὺ, ἐπιλεξάμενός τε ἄνδρας τοὺς

ἐθέλεις, καὶ λαβὼν στρατιήν, ὁκόσῃν τινὰ βούλειαι.  
καὶ ἦν μὲν, τῇ σὺ λέγεις, ἀναβαίῃ βασιλεῖ τὰ  
πρήγματα, κτεινέσθων οἱ ἐμοὶ παῖδες, πρὸς δὲ  
αὐτοῖσι καὶ ἐγώ· ἦν δὲ τῇ ἐγὼ πρόλέγω, οἱ σοὶ  
ταῦτα πασχόντων, σὺν δέ σφι καὶ σὺ, ἦν ἀπονο- 90  
στήσης. Εἰ δὲ ταῦτα μὲν ὑποδύνειν οὐκ ἐθελήσεις,  
σὺ δὲ πάντως στράτευμα ἀνάξεις ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα,  
ἀκούσεσθαί τινά φημι τῶν αὐτοῦ τῇδε ὑπολειπο-  
μένων, Μαρδόνιον μέγα τι κακὸν ἐξεργασμένον  
Πέρσας, ὑπὸ κυνῶν τε καὶ ὀρνίθων διαφορεύμενον 95  
ἢ κου ἐν γῇ τῇ Ἀθηναίων, ἢ σέ γε ἐν τῇ Λακε-  
δαιμονίων, εἰ μὴ ἄρα καὶ πρότερον κατ' ὁδόν,  
γνόντα ἐπ' οἴους ἄνδρας ἀναγινώσκεις στρα-  
τεύεσθαι βασιλέα.

- 11 Ἀρτάβανος μὲν ταῦτα ἔλεξε. Ξέρξης δὲ θυμω-  
θεὶς ἀμείβεται τοισίδε· Ἀρτάβανε, πα-  
τρὸς εἰς τοῦ ἐμοῦ ἀδελφεός· τοῦτό σε  
ῥύσεται μηδένα ἄξιον μισθὸν λαβεῖν ἐπέων μα-  
ταίων. καὶ τοι ταύτην τὴν ἀτιμίην προστίθημι 5  
έόντι κακῷ τε καὶ ἀθύμῳ, μήτε συστρατεύεσθαι  
ἐμοί γε ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα, αὐτοῦ τε μένειν ἅμα τῇσι  
γυναιξί. ἐγὼ δὲ καὶ ἄνευ σέο, ὅσα περ εἶπα,  
ἐπιτελέα ποιήσω. μὴ γὰρ εἶην ἐκ Δαρείου τοῦ  
´τσάσπεος, τοῦ Ἀρσάμεος, τοῦ Ἀριαράμνεω, τοῦ 10  
Τεῖσπεος, τοῦ Κύρου, τοῦ Καμβύσεω, τοῦ Τεῖσπεος,  
τοῦ Ἀχαιμένεος γεγονώς, μὴ τιμωρησάμενος Ἀθη-  
ναίους, εὖ ἐπιστάμενος, ὅτι, εἰ ἡμεῖς ἡσυχίην  
ἄξομεν, ἀλλ' οὐκ ἐκεῖνοι, ἀλλὰ καὶ μάλα στρα-  
τεύσονται ἐπὶ τὴν ἡμετέραν, εἰ χρὴ σταθμώσασθαι 15  
τοῖσι ὑπαργμένοισι ἐξ ἐκείνων, οἱ Σάρδις τε ἐνέ-

Angry reply  
of Xerxes.

πρησαν καὶ ἤλασαν ἐς τὴν Ἀσίην. οὐκ ὦν ἐξαναχωρέειν οὐδετέροισι δυνατῶς ἔχει, ἀλλὰ ποιέειν ἢ παθεῖν προκέεται ἄγων, ἵνα ἢ τάδε πάντα ὑπὸ  
 20 Ἑλλησι, ἢ ἐκεῖνα πάντα ὑπὸ Πέρσῃσι γένηται· τὸ γὰρ μέσον οὐδὲν τῆς ἔχθρης ἐστί. Καλὸν ὦν προπεπονθότας ἡμέας τιμωρέειν ἤδη γίνεται, ἵνα καὶ τὸ δεινὸν, τὸ πείσομαι, τοῦτο μάθω, ἐλάσας ἐπ' ἄνδρας τούτους, τοὺς γε καὶ Πέλοψ ὁ Φρυξ,  
 25 ἐὼν πατέρων τῶν ἐμῶν δούλος, κατεστρέψατο οὔτω, ὥς καὶ ἐς τόδε αὐτοί τε ὠνθρωποι καὶ ἡ γῆ αὐτῶν ἐπώνυμοι τοῦ καταστρεψαμένου καλέονται.

Ταῦτα μὲν ἐπὶ τοσοῦτο ἐλέγετο. μετὰ δὲ εὖ- 12  
 φρόνη τε ἐγίνετο, καὶ Ξέρξεα ἔκνιζε ἢ He wavers, and is warned by a vision.  
 Ἀρταβάνου γνώμη, νυκτὶ δὲ βουλὴν διδοὺς πάγχυ εὔρισκέ οἱ οὐ πρήγμα εἶναι στρα-  
 5 τεύεσθαι ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα· δεδογμένων δέ οἱ αὖτις τούτων, κατύπνωσε. καὶ δὴ κου ἐν τῇ νυκτὶ εἶδε ὄψιν τοιήνδε, ὥς λέγεται ὑπὸ Περσέων. ἐδόκεε ὁ Ξέρξης ἄνδρα οἱ ἐπιστάντα μέγαν τε καὶ εὐειδέα εἰπεῖν· Μετὰ δὴ βουλευέαι, ὦ Πέρσα,  
 10 στράτευμα μὴ ἄγειν ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα, προείπας ἀλίζειν Πέρσῃσι στρατόν; οὔτε ὦν μεταβουλευόμενος ποιέεις εὖ, οὔτε ὁ συγγνωσόμενός τοι πάρα. Ἄλλ', ὥσπερ τῆς ἡμέρης ἐβουλεύσαο ποιέειν, ταύτην ἴθι τῶν ὁδῶν. Τὸν μὲν, ταῦτα εἶπαντα, ἐδόκεε  
 15 ὁ Ξέρξης ἀποπτᾶσθαι. Ἡμέρης δὲ ἐπιλαμψάσης A second Council is held and the expedition abandoned. 13  
 ὀνείρου μὲν τούτου λόγον οὐδένα ἐποιέετο, ὁ δὲ Περσέων συναλίσας τοὺς καὶ πρότερον συνέλεξε, ἔλεγέ σφι τάδε· Ἄν-



- δρες Πέρσαι, συγγνώμην μοι ἔχετε, ὅτι ἀγχίς- 5  
τροφα βουλευόμαι. φρενῶν τε γὰρ ἐς τὰ ἐμεωντοῦ  
πρῶτα οὐ κω ἀνήκω, καὶ οἱ παρηγορεύμενοι ἐκεῖνα  
ποιέειν, οὐδένα χρόνον μεν ἀπέχονται. ἀκούσαντι  
μέντοι μοι τῆς Ἀρταβάνου γνώμης παραντίκα  
μὲν ἢ νεότης ἐπέζεσε, ὥστε αἰκέστερα ἀπορρίψαι 10  
ἔπεα ἐς ἄνδρα πρεσβύτερον ἢ χρεῶν. νῦν μέντοι  
συγγνοὺς χρήσομαι τῇ ἐκείνου γνώμῃ. ὥς ὦν  
μεταδεδογμένον μοι μὴ στρατεύεσθαι ἐπὶ τὴν  
14 Ἑλλάδα, ἥσυχοί ἐστε. Πέρσαι μὲν, ὥς ἤκουσαν  
ταῦτα, κεχαρηκότες προσεκύνεον. Νυκτὸς δὲ γενο-  
Reappear-  
ance of the  
vision. μένης αὐτὶς τῷ τὸ ὄνειρον ἔλεγε τῷ  
Ξέρξῃ κατυπνωμένῳ ἐπιστάν· Ὡ παῖ  
Δαρείου, καὶ δὴ φαίνεαι ἐν Πέρσῃσί τε ἀπει- 5  
πάμενος τὴν στρατηλασίην, καὶ τὰ ἐμὰ ἔπεα ἐν  
οὐδενὶ ποιεύμενος λόγῳ, ὥς παρ' οὐδενὸς ἀκούσας.  
εὖ νῦν τόδ' ἴσθι, ἣν περ μὴ αὐτίκα στρατηλατέης,  
τάδε τοι ἐξ αὐτῶν ἀνασχέσειν· ὥς καὶ μέγας καὶ  
πολλὸς ἐγένεο ἐν ὀλίγῳ χρόνῳ, οὕτω καὶ ταπεινὸς 10  
15 ὀπίσω κατὰ τάχος ἔσειαι. Ξέρξης μὲν, περιδεὴς  
γενόμενος τῇ ὄψει, ἀνά τε ἔδραμε ἐκ τῆς κοίτης, καὶ  
πέμπει ἄγγελον ἐπὶ Ἀρτάβανον καλέοντα. ἀπι-  
κομένῳ δέ οἱ ἔλεγε Ξέρξης τάδε· Ἀρτάβανε, ἐγὼ τὸ  
παραντίκα μὲν οὐκ ἐσωφρόνεον, εἶπας ἐς σέ μάταια 5  
ἔπεα χρηστῆς εἵνεκα συμβουλῆς· μετὰ μέντοι οὐ  
πολλὸν χρόνον μετέγνων, ἔγνων δὲ ταῦτά μοι  
ποιητέα ἔοντα, τὰ σὺ ὑπεθήκαο. οὐκ ὦν δυνατὸς  
τοι εἰμὶ ταῦτα ποιέειν βουλόμενος· τετραμμένῳ  
γὰρ δὴ καὶ μετεγνωκότι ἐπιφοιτῶν ὄνειρον φαν- 10  
τάζεται μοι, οὐδαμῶς συνέπαινον ἔδον ποιέειν με

ταῦτα· νῦν δὲ καὶ διαπειλῆσαν οἴχεται. Εἰ ὦν  
 θεός ἐστι ὁ ἐπιπέμπων καὶ οἱ πάντως ἐν ἡδονῇ  
 ἐστι γενέσθαι στρατηλασίην ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα,  
 15 ἐπιπτήσεται καὶ σοὶ τῶντὸ τοῦτο ὄνειρον, ὁμοίως  
 καὶ ἐμοὶ ἐντελλόμενον. εὐρίσκω δὲ ὧδε ἂν γινό-  
 μενα ταῦτα, εἰ λάβοις τὴν ἐμὴν σκευὴν πᾶσαν,  
 καὶ ἐνδὺς μετὰ τοῦτο ἴζοιο ἐς τὸν ἐμὸν θρόνον, καὶ  
 ἔπειτα ἐν κοίτῃ τῇ ἐμῇ κατυπνώσειας. Ξέρξης 16  
 μὲν ταῦτά οἱ ἔλεγε· Ἀρτάβανος δὲ οὐ  
 τῷ πρώτῳ οἱ κελεύσματι πειθόμενος, οἷα Artabanus  
summoned:  
his advice.  
 οὐκ ἀξιεύμενος ἐς τὸν βασιλήϊον θρόνον ἴζεσθαι,  
 5 τέλος ὡς ἠναγκάζετο, εἴπας τάδε ἐποίησε τὸ κε-  
 λεύόμενον· Ἴσον ἐκείνο, ὦ βασιλεῦ, παρ' ἐμοὶ·  
 κέκριται, φρονέειν τε εὖ καὶ τῷ λέγοντι χρηστὰ  
 ἐθέλειν πείθεσθαι· τὰ σὲ καὶ ἀμφότερα περιήκοντα  
 ἀνθρώπων κακῶν ὁμίλῃαι σφάλλουσι, κατὰ περ  
 10 τὴν πάντων χρησιμωτάτην ἀνθρώποισι θάλασσαν  
 πνεύματα φασὶ ἀνέμων ἐμπίπτοντα οὐ περιορᾶν  
 φύσει τῇ ἐωυτῆς χρῆσθαι. Ἐμὲ δὲ ἀκούσαντα πρὸς  
 σεῦ κακῶς οὐ τοσοῦτο ἔδακε λύπη, ὅσον, γνωμέων  
 δύο προκειμενέων Πέρσῃσι, τῆς μὲν ὕβριν αὐ-  
 15 ξανούσης, τῆς δὲ καταπαυούσης καὶ λεγούσης, ὡς  
 κακὸν εἶη διδάσκειν τὴν ψυχὴν πλεον τι δίζησθαι  
 αἰεὶ ἔχειν τοῦ παρεόντος, τοιουτέων προκειμενέων  
 γνωμέων, ὅτι τὴν σφαλερωτέραν σεωυτῷ τε καὶ  
 Πέρσῃσι ἀναίρεο. Νῦν ὦν, ἐπειδὴ τέτραψαι ἐπὶ  
 20 τὴν ἀμείνω, φῆς τοι μετιέντι τὸν ἐπ' Ἑλληνας  
 στόλον ἐπιφοιτᾶν ὄνειρον θεοῦ τινος πομπῇ, οὐκ  
 ἐὼντά σε καταλύειν τὸν στόλον. ἀλλ' οὐδὲ ταῦτά  
 ἐστι, ὦ παῖ, θεῖα. ἐνύπνια γὰρ τὰ ἐς ἀνθρώπους

πεπλανημένα τοιαῦτά ἐστι, οἷά σε ἐγὼ διδάξω,  
 ἔτεσι σεῦ πολλοῖσι πρεσβύτερος ἐών. πεπλανή- 25  
 σθαι αὐται μάλιστα ἐώθασι αἱ ὄψιες τῶν ὀνει-  
 ράτων, τά τις ἡμέρης φροντίζει· ἡμεῖς δὲ τὰς πρὸ  
 τοῦ ἡμέρας ταύτην τὴν στρατηλασίην καὶ τὸ  
 3 κάρτα εἶχομεν μετὰ χειρας. Εἰ δὲ ἄρα μὴ ἐστι  
 τοῦτο τοιοῦτο, οἷον ἐγὼ διαιρέω, ἀλλὰ τι τοῦ θεοῦ 30  
 μετέχον, σὺ πᾶν αὐτὸ συλλαβὼν εἴρηκας· φανήτω  
 γὰρ δὴ καὶ ἐμοὶ ὡς καὶ σοὶ διακελευόμενον.  
 φανῆναι δὲ οὐδὲν μᾶλλον μοι ἐφείλει ἔχοντι τὴν  
 σὴν ἐσθῆτα ἢ οὐ καὶ τὴν ἐμὴν, οὐδέ τι μᾶλλον ἐν  
 κοίτῃ τῇ σῇ ἀναπαυομένῳ ἢ οὐ καὶ ἐν τῇ ἐμῇ, εἴ 35  
 πέρ γε καὶ ἄλλως ἐθέλει φανῆναι. οὐ γὰρ δὴ ἐς  
 τοσοῦτό γε εὐηθείης ἀνήκει τοῦτο, ὅ τι δὴ κοτέ  
 ἐστι τὸ ἐπιφαινόμενόν τοι ἐν τῷ ὕπνῳ, ὥστε δόξει  
 ἐμὲ ὀρών σε εἶναι, τῇ σῇ ἐσθῆτι τεκμαιρόμενον.  
 εἰ δὲ ἐμὲ μὲν ἐν οὐδενὶ λόγῳ ποιήσεται, οὐδὲ ἀξι- 40  
 ὡσει ἐπιφανῆναι, οὔτε ἦν τὴν ἐμὴν ἐσθῆτα ἔχω,  
 οὔτε ἦν τὴν σὴν, σὲ δὲ ἐπιφοιτήσῃ, τοῦτο ἤδη  
 μαθητέον ἐστί. εἰ γὰρ δὴ ἐπιφοιτήσῃ γε συνε-  
 χέως, φαίην ἂν καὶ αὐτὸς θεῖον εἶναι. Εἰ δέ τοι  
 οὔτω δεδόκηται γίνεσθαι, καὶ οὐκ οἷά τε αὐτὸ 45  
 παρατρέψαι, ἀλλ' ἤδη δεῖ ἐμὲ ἐν κοίτῃ τῇ σῇ  
 κατυπνῶσαι, φέρε, τούτων ἐξ ἐμεῦ ἐπιτελευμένων,  
 φανήτω καὶ ἐμοί. μέχρι δὲ τούτου τῇ παρεούσῃ  
 17 γνώμῃ χρήσομαι. Τοσαῦτα εἶπας Ἀρτάβανος,  
 ἐλπίζων Ξέρξεα ἀποδέξειν λέγοντα οὐ-  
 δέν, ἐποίεε τὸ κελευόμενον. ἐνδὺς δὲ τὴν  
 Ξέρξεω ἐσθῆτα καὶ ἰζόμενος ἐς τὸν βασιλῆϊον  
 θρόνον, ὡς μετὰ ταῦτα κοῖτον ἐποίεετο, ἦλθέ οἱ 5

He too, being  
 menaced by  
 the dream,

κατυπνωμένῳ τῶντὸ ὄνειρον, τὸ καὶ παρὰ Ξέρξεα  
 ἐφοίτα· ὑπερστὰν δὲ τοῦ Ἀρταβάνου εἶπε τάδε·  
 Ἄρα σὺ δὴ ἐκείνος εἷς ὁ ἀποσπεύδων Ξέρξεα στρα-  
 τεύεσθαι ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα, ὡς δὴ κηδόμενος αὐτοῦ;  
 10 ἄλλ' οὔτε ἐς τὸ μετέπειτα οὔτε ἐς τὸ παραντίκα  
 νῦν καταπροΐξαι, ἀποτρέπων τὸ χρεὼν γενέσθαι.  
 Ξέρξεα δὲ τὰ δεῖ ἀνηκουστέοντα παθεῖν, αὐτῷ  
 ἐκείνῳ δεδήλωται. Ταῦτά τε δὴ ἐδόκεε Ἀρτά- 18  
 βανος τὸ ὄνειρον ἀπειλέειν καὶ θερμοῖσι  
 σιδηρίοισι ἐκκαίειν αὐτοῦ μέλλειν τοὺς  
 ὀφθαλμούς. καὶ ὃς ἀμβώσας μέγα ἀναθρώσκει,  
 5 καὶ παριζόμενος Ξέρξῃ, ὡς τὴν ὄψιν οἱ τοῦ ἐνυ-  
 πνίου διεξῆλθε ἀπηγεόμενος, δευτέρᾳ οἱ λέγει  
 τάδε· Ἐγὼ μὲν, ὦ βασιλεῦ, οἶα ἄνθρωπος ἰδὼν  
 ἤδη πολλὰ τε καὶ μεγάλα πεσόντα πρήγματα ὑπὸ  
 ἐσσόνων, οὐκ ἔων σε τὰ πάντα τῇ ἡλικίῃ εἴκειν,  
 10 ἐπιστάμενος, ὡς κακὸν εἶη τὸ πολλῶν ἐπιθυμείν,  
 μεμνημένος μὲν τὸν ἐπὶ Μασσαγέτας Κύρου στόλον  
 ὡς ἔπρηξε, μεμνημένος δὲ καὶ τὸν ἐπ' Αἰθίοπας  
 τὸν Καμβύσεω, συστρατευόμενος δὲ καὶ Δαρείῳ  
 ἐπὶ Σκύθας, ἐπιστάμενος ταῦτα γνώμην εἶχον,  
 15 ἀτρεμίζοντά σε μακαριστὸν εἶναι πρὸς πάντων  
 ἀνθρώπων. Ἐπεὶ δὲ δαιμονίῃ τις γίνεται ὁρμῇ, καὶ  
 Ἕλληνας, ὡς ἔοικε, φθορὴ τις καταλαμβάνει θε-  
 ήλατος, ἐγὼ μὲν καὶ αὐτὸς τράπομαι, καὶ τὴν  
 γνώμην μετατίθεμαι. Σὺ δὲ σήμνηνον μὲν Πέρσῃσι  
 20 τὰ ἐκ τοῦ θεοῦ πεμπόμενα, χρῆσθαι δὲ κέλευε  
 τοῖσι ἐκ σέο πρώτοισι προειρημένοις ἐς τὴν παρα-  
 σκευήν· ποίees δὲ οὔτω, ὅκως, τοῦ θεοῦ παραδι-  
 δόντος, τῶν σῶν ἐνδεήσει μῆδέν. Τούτων λεχθέν-



των, ἐνθαῦτα ἐπαρθέντες τῇ ὄψι, ὡς ἡμέρη ἐγένετο  
τάχιστα, Ξέρξης τε ὑπερετίθετο ταῦτα Πέρσῃσι, 25  
καὶ Ἀρτάβανος, ὃς πρότερον ἀποσπεύδων μῦνος  
ἐφαίνετο, τότε ἐπισπεύδων φανερός ἦν.

19 Ὁρμημένῳ δὲ Ξέρξῃ στρατηλατέειν μετὰ ταῦτα  
Appearance  
of yet  
another  
vision. τρίτῃ ὄψις ἐν τῷ ὕπνῳ ἐγένετο, τὴν οἱ  
 μάγοι ἔκριναν ἀκούσαντες φέρειν τε ἐπὶ  
 πᾶσαν γῆν, δουλεύσειν τέ οἱ πάντα ἀν-  
 θρώπους. ἡ δὲ ὄψις ἦν ἥδε· ἐδόκεε ὁ Ξέρξης 5  
 ἐστεφανώσθαι ἐλαίης θαλλῷ· ἀπὸ δὲ τῆς ἐλαίης  
 τοὺς κλάδους γῆν πᾶσαν ἐπισχεῖν· μετὰ δὲ ἀφα-  
 νισθῆναι περὶ τῇ κεφαλῇ κείμενον τὸν στέφανον.  
 Κρινάντων δὲ ταύτῃ τῶν μάγων, Περσέων τε τῶν  
 συλληχθέντων αὐτίκα πᾶς ἀνὴρ ἐς τὴν ἀρχὴν τὴν 10  
 ἐωυτοῦ ἀπελάσας, εἶχε προθυμίην πᾶσαν ἐπὶ τοῖσι  
 εἰρημένοισι, θέλων αὐτὸς ἕκαστος τὰ προκείμενα  
 δῶρα λαβεῖν· καὶ Ξέρξης τοῦ στρατοῦ οὕτω ἐπά-  
 γερσιν ποιέεται, χῶρον πάντα ἐρευνῶν τῆς ἡπείρου.

20 Ἀπὸ γὰρ Αἰγύπτου ἀλώσιος ἐπὶ μὲν τέσσερα  
Comparison  
of this with  
previous  
expeditions. ἔτεα πλήρεια παραρτέετο στρατιήν τε  
 καὶ τὰ πρόσφορα τῇ στρατιῇ, πέμπτω δὲ  
 ἔτεϊ ἀνομένῳ ἐστρατηλάτее χειρὶ μεγάλην  
 πλήθεος. Στόλων γάρ, τῶν ἡμεῖς ἴδμεν, πολλῷ δὴ 5  
 μέγιστος οὗτος ἐγένετο, ὥστε μήτε τὸν Δαρείου  
 τὸν ἐπὶ Σκύθας παρὰ τοῦτον μηδὲν φαίνεσθαι,  
 μήτε τὸν Σκυθικόν, ὅτε Σκύθαι Κιμμερίους διώ-  
 κοντες, ἐς τὴν Μηδικὴν χώραν ἐμβαλόντες, σχεδὸν  
 πάντα τὰ ἄνω τῆς Ἀσίας καταστρεψάμενοι ἐνέ- 10  
 μοντο, τῶν εἵνεκεν ὕστερον Δαρείος ἐτιμωρέετο,  
 μήτε κατὰ τὰ λεγόμενα τὸν Ἀτρεϊδέων ἐς Ἴλιον,

μήτε τὸν Μυσῶν τε καὶ Τευκρῶν τὸν πρὸ τῶν  
 Τρωϊκῶν γενόμενον, οἷ διαβάντες ἐς τὴν Εὐρώπην  
 15 κατὰ Βόσπορον τοὺς τε Θρήϊκας κατεστρέψαντο  
 πάντας καὶ ἐπὶ τὸν Ἴόνιον πόντον κατέβησαν,  
 μέχρι τε Πηνειοῦ ποταμοῦ [τοῦ] πρὸς μεσαμβρίας  
 ἤλασαν. Αὐταὶ αἱ πᾶσαι, καὶ οὐδ' εἴ ἕτεραι πρὸς 21  
 ταύτησι γενόμεναι στρατηλασίαι, μιῆς τῆσδε οὐκ  
 ἄξιαί. τί γὰρ οὐκ ἤγαγε ἐκ τῆς Ἀσίας ἔθνος ἐπὶ  
 τὴν Ἑλλάδα Ξέρξης; κοῖον δὲ πινόμενόν μιν  
 5 ὕδωρ οὐκ ἐπέλιπε, πλήν τῶν μεγάλων ποταμῶν;  
 οἱ μὲν γὰρ νέας παρείχοντο, οἱ δὲ ἐς πεζὸν ἐτε-  
 τάχατο, τοῖσι δὲ ἵππος προσετέτακτο, τοῖσι δὲ  
 ἵππαγωγὰ πλοῖα ἅμα στρατευομένοισι, τοῖσι δὲ  
 ἐς τὰς γεφύρας μακρὰς νέας παρέχειν, τοῖσι δὲ  
 10 σιτὰ τε καὶ νέας.

Καὶ τοῦτο μὲν, ὡς προσπταισάντων τῶν πρώ- 22  
 των περιπλεόντων περὶ τὸν Ἄθων, προ-  
 ετοιμάζετο ἐκ τριῶν ἐτέων κου μάλιστα Canal cut  
through  
Athos.  
 ἐς τὸν Ἄθων. ἐν γὰρ Ἐλαιοῦντι τῆς Χερσο-  
 5 νήσου ὤρμεον τριήρεις· ἐνθεῦτεν δὲ ὀρμεόμενοι  
 ὤρυσσον ὑπὸ μαστίγων παντοδαποὶ τῆς στρα-  
 τιῆς, διάδοχοι δ' ἐφοίτων. ὤρυσσον δὲ καὶ οἱ  
 περὶ τὸν Ἄθων κατοικημένοι. Βουβάρης δὲ ὁ  
 Μεγαβάζου, καὶ Ἀρταχαίης ὁ Ἀρταίου, ἄνδρες  
 10 Πέρσαι, ἐπεστάτεον τοῦ ἔργου. Ὁ γὰρ Ἄθως ἐστὶ  
 ὄρος μέγα τε καὶ οὐνομαστόν, ἐς θάλασσαν κατῆ-  
 κον, οἰκημένον ὑπὸ ἀνθρώπων. τῇ δὲ τελευτᾷ ἐς  
 τὴν ἡπειρον τὸ ὄρος, χερσονησοειδές τέ ἐστι καὶ  
 ἰσθμὸς ὡς δώδεκα σταδίων· πεδῖον δὲ τοῦτο, καὶ  
 15 κολωνοὶ οὐ μεγάλοι, ἐκ θαλάσσης τῆς Ἀκανθίων

ἐπὶ θάλασσαν τὴν ἀντίον Τορώνης. ἐν δὲ τῷ  
 ἰσθμῷ τούτῳ, ἐς τὸν τελευτᾷ ὁ Ἄθως, Σάνη πόλις  
 Ἑλλὰς οἴκηται. αἱ δὲ ἐντὸς Σάνης, ἔσω δὲ τοῦ  
 Ἄθω οἴκημέναι, τὰς τότε ὁ Πέρσης νησιώτιδας  
 ἀντὶ ἡπειρωτίδων ὥρμητο ποιέειν, εἰςὶ αἶδε, Δίον, 20  
 Ὀλόφυξος, Ἀκρόθων, Θύσσος, Κλεωναί. πόλιες  
 23 μὲν αὗται, αἱ τὸν Ἄθων νέμονται. Ὠρυσσον δὲ  
 ὦδε, δασάμενοι τὸν χῶρον οἱ βάρβαροι κατὰ  
 ἔθνεα, κατὰ Σάνην πόλιν σχοινοτενὲς  
 ποιησάμενοι· ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐγένετο βαθεία ἡ  
 διώρυξ, οἱ μὲν κατώτατα ἐστεῶτες ὦρυσσον, ἕτεροι 5  
 δὲ παρεδίδοσαν τὸν αἰεὶ ἐξορυσσόμενον χοῦν ἄλ-  
 λουσι κατύπερθε ἐστεῶσι ἐπὶ βάθρων, οἱ δ' αὖ  
 ἐκδεκόμενοι ἐτέροισι, ἕως ἀπίκοντο ἐς τοὺς ἀνω-  
 τάτω, οὗτοι δὲ ἐξεφόρεόν τε καὶ ἐξέβαλλον. τοῖσι  
 μὲν νῦν ἄλλουσι, πλὴν Φοινίκων, καταρρηγνύμενοι 10  
 οἱ κρημνοὶ τοῦ ὀρύγματος πόνον διπλήσιον παρεί-  
 χον· ἅτε γὰρ τοῦ τε ἄνω στόματος καὶ τοῦ κάτω  
 τὰ αὐτὰ μέτρα ποιευμένων, ἔμελλέ σφι τοιοῦτο  
 ἀποβήσεσθαι. οἱ δὲ Φοίνικες σοφίην ἔν τε τοῖσι  
 ἄλλουσι ἔργοισι ἀποδείκνυνται καὶ δὴ καὶ ἐν 15  
 ἐκείνῳ. ἀπολαχόντες γὰρ μόριον, ὅσον αὐτοῖσι  
 ἐπέβαλλε, ὦρυσσον τὸ μὲν ἄνω στόμα τῆς διώ-  
 ρυχος ποιεῦντες διπλήσιον ἢ ὅσον ἔδει αὐτὴν τὴν  
 διώρυχα γενέσθαι· προβαίνοντος δὲ τοῦ ἔργου  
 συνῆγον αἰεὶ· κάτω τε δὴ ἐγίνετο, καὶ ἐξισοῦτο 20  
 τοῖσι ἄλλουσι τὸ ἔργον. ἐνθαῦτα δὴ λειμών ἐστι,  
 ἵνα σφι ἀγορὴ τε ἐγίνετο καὶ πρητήριον· σῖτος δὲ  
 σφισι πολλὸς ἐφοίτα ἐκ τῆς Ἀσίας ἀληλεσμένος.  
 24 Ὡς μὲν ἐμὲ συμβαλλόμενον εὐρίσκειν, μεγαλο-

φροσύνης εἵνεκα αὐτὸ Ξέρξης ὀρύσσειν ἐκέλευε,  
 ἐθέλων τε δύναμιν ἀποδείκνυσθαι καὶ Reason why  
the canal  
was cut.  
 μνημόσυνα λιπέσθαι. παρεὼν γὰρ μηδένα

5 πόνον λαβόντας τὸν ἰσθμὸν τὰς νέας διειρύναι,  
 ὀρύσσειν ἐκέλευε διώρυχα τῇ θαλάσῃ, εὖρος ὥς  
 δύο τριήρεας πλέειν ὁμοῦ ἐλαστρευμένας. Τοῖσι  
 δὲ αὐτοῖσι τούτοισι, τοῖσί περ καὶ τὸ ὄρυγμα,  
 προσετέτακτο καὶ τὸν Στρυμόνα ποταμὸν ζεύ-  
 ξαντας γεφυρῶσαι. Ταῦτα μὲν νυν οὕτω ἐποίεε. 25

παρεσκευάζετο δὲ καὶ ὅπλα ἐς τὰς γε-  
 φύρας βύβλινά τε καὶ λευκολίνου, ἐπι-  
 τάξας Φοίνιξί τε καὶ Αἰγυπτίοισι, καὶ

Continued  
prepara-  
tions :  
bridges,  
magazines  
etc.

5 σιτία τῇ στρατιῇ καταβάλλειν, ἵνα μὴ  
 λιμήνεια ἢ στρατιῇ, μηδὲ τὰ ὑποζύγια ἐλαυνόμενα  
 ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα· ἀναπυθόμενος δὲ τοὺς χώρους  
 καταβάλλειν ἐκέλευε, ἵνα ἐπιτηδεώτατον εἴη, ἄλλον  
 ἄλλη ἀγινέοντας ὀλκάσι τε καὶ πορθμητοῖσι ἐκ  
 10 τῆς Ἀσίης πανταχόθεν. τὸν δὲ ὦν πλείστον ἐς  
 Λευκὴν Ἀκτὴν καλεομένην τῆς Θρηίκης ἀγίνεον, οἱ  
 δὲ ἐς Τυρόδιζαν τὴν Περινθίων, οἱ δὲ ἐς Δορίσκον,  
 οἱ δὲ ἐς Ἡϊόνα τὴν ἐπὶ Στρυμόνι, οἱ δὲ ἐς Μακε-  
 δονίην διατεταγμένοι.

Ἐν τῷ δὲ οὗτοι τὸν προκείμενον πόνον ἐργά- 26  
 ζοντο, ἐν τούτῳ ὁ πεζὸς ἅπας συλλελεγ-

μένος ἅμα Ξέρξῃ ἐπορεύετο ἐς Σάρδις,  
 ἐκ Κριτάλλων ὁρμηθεὶς τῶν ἐν Καππα-

The army as-  
sembles at  
Crittalla ;  
commence-  
ment of the  
march.

5 δοκίῃ· ἐνθαῦτα γὰρ εἴρητο συλλέγεσθαι

πάντα τὸν κατ' ἡπειρον μέλλοντα ἅμα αὐτῷ Ξέρξῃ  
 πορεύεσθαι στρατόν. Ὃς μὲν ἰνυ τῶν ὑπάρχων  
 στρατὸν κάλλιστα ἐσταλμένον ἀγαγὼν τὰ προκεί-



μενα παρὰ βασιλέος ἔλαβε δῶρα, οὐκ ἔχω φράσαι·  
 οὐδὲ γὰρ ἀρχὴν ἐς κρίσιν τούτου πέρι ἐλθόντας 10  
 οἶδα. Οἱ δὲ, ἐπεὶ τε διαβάντες τὸν Ἄλυν ποταμὸν  
 ὠμίλησαν τῇ Φρυγίῃ, δι' αὐτῆς πορευόμενοι παρε-  
 γένοντο ἐς Κελαινὰς, ἵνα πηγαὶ ἀναδιδούσι Μαι-  
 ἀνδρου ποταμοῦ, καὶ ἐτέρου οὐκ ἐλάσσονος ἢ Μαι-  
 ἀνδρου, τῷ οὐνομα τυγχάνει ἐὼν Καταρρήκτης, ὃς 15  
 ἐξ αὐτῆς τῆς ἀγορῆς τῆς Κελαινέων ἀνατέλλων ἐς  
 τὸν Μαίανδρον ἐκδιδοί, ἐν τῇ καὶ ὁ τοῦ Σιληνοῦ  
 Μαρσύεω ἀσκὸς ἐν τῇ πόλει ἀνακρέμαται, τὸν ὑπὸ  
 Φρυγῶν λόγος ἔχει ὑπὸ Ἀπόλλωνος ἐκδαρέντα  
 27 ἀνακρεμασθῆναι. Ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ πόλει ὑποκατή-  
Munificence  
of Pythius.
 μενος Πύθιος ὁ Ἄττος, ἀνὴρ Λυδὸς, ἐξεί-  
 νισε τὴν βασιλέος στρατιὴν πᾶσαν ξει-  
 νίοισι μεγίστοις καὶ αὐτὸν Ξέρξεα, χρήματά τε  
 ἐπηγγέλλετο, βουλόμενος ἐς τὸν πόλεμον παρέ- 5  
 χειν. ἐπαγγελλομένου δὲ χρήματα Πυθίου, εἶρετο  
 Ξέρξης Περσέων τοὺς παρεόντας, τίς τε ἐὼν ἀν-  
 δρῶν Πύθιος καὶ κόσα χρήματα κεκτημένος ἐπαγ-  
 γέλλοιτο ταῦτα. οἱ δὲ εἶπαν· ὦ βασιλεῦ, οὗτός  
 ἐστι, ὅς τοι τὸν πατέρα Δαρεῖον ἐδωρήσατο τῇ 10  
 πλατανίστῃ τῇ χρυσῇ καὶ τῇ ἀμπέλῳ, ὃς καὶ νῦν  
 ἐστὶ πρῶτος ἀνθρώπων πλούτῳ, τῶν ἡμεῖς ἴδμεν,  
 28 μετὰ σέ. Θωμάσας δὲ τῶν ἐπέων τὸ τελευταῖον  
 Ξέρξης αὐτὸς δεύτερα εἶρετο Πύθιον,  
His wealth.
 ὁκόσα οἱ εἴη χρήματα. ὁ δὲ εἶπε· ὦ  
 βασιλεῦ, οὔτε σε ἀποκρύψω οὔτε σκήψομαι τὸ  
 μὴ εἰδέναι τὴν ἐμεωυτοῦ οὐσίην, ἀλλ' ἐπιστάμενός 5  
 τοι ἀτρεκέως καταλέξω. ἐπεὶ τε γὰρ τάχιστα σε  
 ἐπνυθόμην ἐπὶ θάλασσαν καταβαίνοντα τὴν Ἑλλη-

νίδα, βουλόμενός τοι δοῦναι ἐς τὸν πόλεμον χρή-  
 ματα, ἐξέμαθον, καὶ εὖρον λογιζόμενος ἀργυρίου  
 10 μὲν δύο χιλιάδας εἰσάσας μοι ταλάντων, χρυσίου δὲ  
 τετρακοσίας μυριάδας στατήρων Δαρεικῶν, ἐπι-  
 δεύσας ἑπτὰ χιλιάδων. καὶ τούτοισί σε ἐγὼ  
 δωρέομαι· αὐτῷ δ' ἔμοι ἀπὸ ἀνδραπόδων τε καὶ  
 γεωπεδίων ἀρκέων ἐστὶ βίος. Ὁ μὲν ταῦτα 29  
 ἔλεγε· Ξέρξης δὲ ἡσθεὶς τοῖσι εἰρημέ-  
 νοισι εἶπε· Ξεῖνε Λυδὲ, ἐγὼ ἐπεὶ τε He is re-  
warded.  
 ἐξηλθον τὴν Περσίδα χώραν, οὐδενὶ ἀνδρὶ συν-  
 5 ἔμιξα ἐς τόδε, ὅστις ἠθέλησε ξεῖνια προθεῖναι  
 στρατῷ τῷ ἐμῷ, οὐδὲ ὅστις ἐς ὄψιν τὴν ἐμὴν  
 καταστάς, αὐτεπάγγελτος ἐς τὸν πόλεμον ἐμοὶ  
 ἠθέλησε συμβαλέσθαι χρήματα, ἔξω σεῦ. σὺ δὲ  
 καὶ ἐξείνισας μέγας στρατὸν τὸν ἐμὸν, καὶ  
 10 χρήματα μεγάλα ἐπαγγέλλεαι. σοὶ ὦν ἐγὼ ἀντὶ  
 αὐτῶν γέρεα τοιάδε δίδωμι· ξεῖνόν τέ σε ποιεῦμαι  
 ἐμὸν, καὶ τὰς τετρακοσίας μυριάδας τοι τῶν στα-  
 τήρων ἀποπλήσω παρ' ἐμεωυτοῦ, δούς τὰς ἑπτὰ  
 χιλιάδας, ἵνα μὴ τοι ἐπιδέες ἔωσι αἱ τετρακόσiai  
 15 μυριάδες ἑπτὰ χιλιάδων, ἀλλ' ἥ τοι ἀπαρτιλογίη  
 ὑπ' ἐμέο πεπληρωμένη. κέκτησό τε αὐτὸς, τὰ περ  
 αὐτὸς ἐκθήσαιο, ἐπίστασό τε εἶναι αἰεὶ τοιοῦτος·  
 οὐ γάρ τοι ταῦτα ποιεῦντι οὔτε ἐς τὸ παρεὸν οὔτε  
 ἐς χρόνον μεταμελήσει.

Ταῦτα δὲ εἶπας καὶ ἐπιτελέα ποιήσας ἐπορεύετο 30  
 αἰεὶ τὸ πρόσω. "Ανανα δὲ καλεομένην The march  
continued.  
 Φρυγῶν πόλιν παραμειβόμενος καὶ λίμ-  
 νην, ἐκ τῆς ἄλεις γίνονται, ἀπῆκετο ἐς Κολοσσάς,  
 5 πόλιν μεγάλην Φρυγίης, ἐν τῇ Λύκος ποταμὸς ἐς

- χάσμα γῆς ἐσβάλλων ἀφανίζεται, ἔπειτα διὰ στα-  
 δίων ὡς πέντε μάλιστα κη ἀναφαινόμενος ἐκδιδοί  
 καὶ οὗτος ἐς τὸν Μαίανδρον. ἐκ δὲ Κολοσσέων  
 ὀρμεόμενος ὁ στρατὸς ἐπὶ τοὺς οὖρους τῶν Φρυγῶν  
 καὶ τῶν Λυδῶν ἀπίκητο ἐς Κύδραρα πόλιν, ἔνθα 10  
 στήλη καταπεπηγυῖα, σταθείσα δὲ ὑπὸ Κροίσου,  
 31 καταμηνύει διὰ γραμμάτων τοὺς οὖρους. Ὡς δὲ  
 ἐκ τῆς Φρυγίης ἐσέβαλε ἐς τὴν Λυδίην,  
Arrival at  
Sardis. σχιζομένης τῆς ὁδοῦ, καὶ τῆς μὲν ἐς ἀρι-  
 στερὴν ἐπὶ Καρίης φερούσης, τῆς δὲ ἐς δεξιὴν ἐς  
 Σάρδεις, τῇ καὶ πορευομένῳ διαβῆναι τὸν Μαί- 5  
 ανδρον ποταμὸν πᾶσα ἀνάγκη γίνεται, καὶ ἰέναι  
 παρὰ Καλλάτηβον πόλιν, ἐν τῇ ἄνδρες δημιουργοὶ  
 μέλι ἐκ μυρίκης τε καὶ πυροῦ ποιεῦσι, ταύτην ἰὼν  
 ὁ Ξέρξης τὴν ὁδὸν εὔρε πλατάνιστον, τὴν κάλλεος  
 εἵνεκα δωρησάμενος κόσμῳ χρυσεῷ καὶ μελεδωνῷ 10  
 ἀθανάτῳ ἀνδρὶ ἐπιτρέψας, δευτέρῃ ἡμέρῃ ἀπίκητο  
 32 ἐς τῶν Λυδῶν τὸ ἄστυ. Ἀπικόμενος δὲ ἐς Σάρδεις  
Heralds de-  
spatched to  
Greece. πρῶτα μὲν ἀπέπεμπε κήρυκας ἐς τὴν Ἑλ-  
 λάδα, αἰτήσοντας γῆν τε καὶ ὕδωρ, καὶ  
 προερέοντας δεῖπνα βασιλεῖ παρασκευάζειν· πλὴν  
 οὔτε ἐς Ἀθήνας οὔτε ἐς Λακεδαίμονα ἀπέπεμπε ἐπὶ 5  
 γῆς αἰτήσιν, τῇ δὲ ἄλλῃ πάντῃ. τῶνδε δὲ εἵνεκα  
 τὸ δεύτερον ἀπέπεμπε ἐπὶ γῆν τε καὶ ὕδωρ· ὅσοι  
 πρότερον οὐκ ἔδοσαν Δαρείῳ πέμψαντι, τούτους  
 πάγχυ ἐδόκεε τότε δέισαντας δώσειν· βουλόμενος  
 33 ὦν αὐτὸ τοῦτο ἐκμαθεῖν ἀκριβῶς ἔπεμπε. Μετὰ δὲ  
 ταῦτα παρσκευάζετο ὡς ἐλὼν ἐς Ἀβυδον.  
 Οἱ δὲ ἐν τούτῳ τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον  
 ἐξεύγνυσαν ἐκ τῆς Ἀσίης ἐς τὴν Εὐρώ-

5 πην. ἔστι δὲ τῆς Χερσονήσου τῆς ἐν Ἑλλησ-  
 πόντῳ, Σηστοῦ τε πόλιος μεταξὺ καὶ Μαδύτου,  
 ἀκτὴ τρηχέα ἐς θάλασσαν κατήκουσα, Ἀβύδῳ  
 καταντίον· ἔνθα μετὰ ταῦτα χρόνῳ ὕστερον οὐ  
 πολλῶ, ἐπὶ Ξανθίππου τοῦ Ἀρίφρονος στρατηγοῦ  
 10 Ἀθηναίων, Ἀρταύκτην ἄνδρα Πέρσῃν λαβόντες  
 Σηστοῦ ὑπαρχον ζῶντα πρὸς σανίδα διεπασσά-  
 λευσαν, ὃς καὶ ἐς τοῦ Πρωτεσίλεω τὸ ἶρόν ἐς  
 Ἑλαιοῦντα ἀγινεόμενος γυναῖκας ἀθέμιτα ἔρδεσκε.  
 Ἐς ταύτην ὦν τὴν ἀκτὴν ἐξ Ἀβύδου ὀρμεόμενοι 34  
 ἐγεφύρουν, τοῖσι προσεκέετο, τὴν μὲν λευ-  
 κολίνου Φοῖνικες, τὴν δ' ἐτέρην τὴν βυ-  
 βλίνην Αἰγύπτιοι. ἔστι δὲ ἐπτὰ στάδιοι ἐξ Ἀβύ-  
 5 δου ἐς τὴν ἀπαντίον. Καὶ δὴ ἐξευγμένου τοῦ πόρου,  
 ἐπιγενόμενος χειμῶν μέγας συνέκοψέ τε ἐκεῖνα  
 πάντα καὶ διέλυσε. Ὡς δ' ἐπύθετο Ξέρξης, δεινὰ 35  
 ποιεύμενος, τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον ἐκέλευε  
 τριηκοσίας ἐπικέσθαι μάστιγι πληγὰς  
 καὶ κατεῖναι ἐς τὸ πέλαγος πεδέων ζεύγος.  
 5 ἥδη δὲ ἤκουσα ὥς καὶ στιγέας ἅμα τούτοισι ἀπέ-  
 πεμφε στίξοντας τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον. ἐνετέλλετο  
 δὴ ὦν ῥαπίζοντας λέγειν βάρβαρά τε καὶ ἀτά-  
 σθαλα· Ὡ πικρὸν ὕδωρ, δεσπότης τοι δίκην ἐπι-  
 τιθεῖ τήνδε, ὅτι μιν ἠδίκησας, οὐδὲν πρὸς ἐκείνου  
 10 ἄδικον παθόν. καὶ βασιλεὺς μὲν Ξέρξης διαβή-  
 σεταί σε, ἣν τε σύ γε βούλῃ, ἣν τε μή. σοὶ δὲ  
 κατὰ δίκην ἄρα οὐδεὶς ἀνθρώπων θύει, ὥς εἰσὶν δο-  
 λερῶ τε καὶ ἀλμυρῶ ποταμῶ. Τὴν τε δὴ θάλασσαν  
 ἐνετέλλετο τούτοισι ζημιοῦν, καὶ τῶν ἐπεστεώτων  
 15 τῇ ζεύξει τοῦ Ἑλλησπόντου ἀποταμεῖν τὰς κεφαλὰς.

Its destruc-  
tion by a  
storm.

Punishment  
of the Helle-  
spont by  
Xerxes.



36 Καὶ οἱ μὲν ταῦτα ἐποίεον, τοῖσι προσεκέετο αὕτη  
 Reconstruction of the bridge. ἡ ἄχαρις τιμή. τὰς δὲ ἄλλοι ἀρχιτέκ-  
 τονες ἐξεύγνυσαν· ἐξεύγνυσαν δὲ ὧδε.  
 πεντηκοντέρους καὶ τριήρας συνθέντες, ὑπὸ μὲν  
 τὴν πρὸς τοῦ Εὐξείνου Πόντου ἐξήκοντά τε καὶ 5  
 τριηκοσίας, ὑπὸ δὲ τὴν ἐτέρην τεσσαρεσκαίδεκα  
 καὶ τριηκοσίας, τοῦ μὲν Πόντου ἐπικαρσίας, τοῦ  
 δὲ Ἑλλησπόντου κατὰ ῥόον, ἵνα ἀνακωχεύῃ τὸν  
 τόνον τῶν ὅπλων· συνθέντες δὲ ἀγκύρας κατήκαν  
 περιμήκειας, τὰς μὲν πρὸς τοῦ Πόντου τῆς ἐτέρης 10  
 τῶν ἀνέμων εἵνεκεν τῶν ἔσωθεν ἐκπνεόντων, τῆς δὲ  
 ἐτέρης τῆς πρὸς ἐσπέρης τε καὶ τοῦ Αἰγαίου εὗρου  
 τε καὶ νότου εἵνεκα· διέκπλοον δὲ ὑπόφανσιν κατέ-  
 λιπον τῶν πεντηκόντέρων καὶ τριχοῦ, ἵνα καὶ ἐς  
 τὸν Πόντον ἔχῃ ὁ βουλόμενος πλέειν πλοίοισι 15  
 λεπτοῖσι, καὶ ἐκ τοῦ Πόντου ἔξω. ταῦτα δὲ ποιή-  
 σαντες κατέτεινον ἐκ γῆς στρεβλοῦντες ὄνοισι  
 ξυλίνοισι τὰ ὅπλα, οὐκέτι χωρὶς ἐκάτερα τάξαντες,  
 ἀλλὰ δύο μὲν λευκολίνου δασάμενοι ἐς ἐκατέρην,  
 τέσσερα δὲ τῶν βυβλίνων. παχύτης μὲν ἦν ἡ 20  
 αὕτη καὶ καλλονή, κατὰ λόγον δὲ ἦν ἐμβριθέστερα  
 τὰ λίνεα, τοῦ τάλαντον ὁ πῆχυς εἴλκε. Ἐπειδὴ  
 δὲ ἐγεφυρώθη ὁ πόρος, κορμούς ξύλων καταπρί-  
 σαντες καὶ ποιήσαντες ἴσους τῆς σχεδίας τῷ εὐρεῖ,  
 κόσμῳ ἐπετίθεσαν κατύπερθε τῶν ὅπλων τοῦ τόνου, 25  
 θέντες δὲ ἐπεξῆς, ἐνθαῦτα αὐτὶς ἐπεξεύγνυνον. ποιή-  
 σαντες δὲ ταῦτα ὕλην ἐπεφόρησαν· κόσμῳ δὲ  
 θέντες καὶ τὴν ὕλην, γῆν ἐπεφόρησαν· κατανάξαντες  
 δὲ καὶ τὴν γῆν, φραγμὸν παρείρυσαν ἔνθεν καὶ  
 ἔνθεν, ἵνα μὴ φοβέηται τὰ ὑποζύγια τὴν θάλασσαν 30  
 ὑπερορῶντα καὶ οἱ ἵπποι.

Ὡς δὲ τὰ τε τῶν γεφυρέων κατεσκευάστο καὶ 37  
τὰ περὶ τὸν Ἄθων, οἳ τε χυτοὶ περὶ τὰ  
στόματα τῆς διώρυχος, οἱ τῆς ῥηχίης  
εἵνεκεν ἐποιήθησαν, ἵνα μὴ πίμπληται

Departure  
from Sardis;  
eclipse of the  
sun.

5 τὰ στόματα τοῦ ὀρύγματος, καὶ αὐτὴ ἡ διώρυξ  
παντελέως πεποιημένη ἠγγέλλετο· ἐνθαῦτα χει-  
μερίσας, ἅμα τῷ ἔاري παρεσκευασμένος ὁ στρατὸς  
ἐκ τῶν Σαρδίων ὤρματο ἐλὼν ἐς Ἀβυδὸν. Ὀρμη-  
μένῳ δὲ οἱ ὁ ἥλιος ἐκλιπὼν τὴν ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ  
10 ἔδρην ἀφανῆς ἦν, οὗτ' ἐπινεφέλων ἐόντων αἰθρίης  
τε τὰ μάλιστα· ἀντὶ ἡμέρης τε νύξ ἐγένετο. Ἰδόντι  
δὲ καὶ μαθόντι τοῦτο τῷ Ξέρξῃ ἐπιμελὲς ἐγένετο·  
καὶ εἴρετο τοὺς μάγους, τὸ θέλει προφαίνειν τὸ  
φάσμα. οἱ δὲ ἔφραζον, ὥς Ἑλλησι προδεικνύει ὁ  
15 θεὸς ἐκλειψιν τῶν πολίων, λέγοντες ἥλιον εἶναι  
Ἑλλήνων προδέκτορα, σελήνην δὲ σφέων. πυθό-  
μενος δὲ ταῦτα ὁ Ξέρξης περιχαρὴς ἐὼν ἐποιέετο  
τὴν ἔλασιν. Ὡς δ' ἐξήλαυνε τὴν στρατιὴν, Πύ- 38  
θιος ὁ Λυδὸς, καταρρωδήσας τὸ ἐκ τοῦ  
οὐρανοῦ φάσμα, ἐπαρθείς τε τοῖσι δωρή-  
μασι, ἐλθὼν παρὰ Ξέρξεα ἔλεγε τάδε· ὦ δέσποτα,  
5 χρηίσας ἄν τευ βουλοίμην τυχεῖν, τὸ σοὶ μὲν ἐλα-  
φρὸν τυγχάνει ἐὼν ὑπουργῆσαι, ἐμοὶ δὲ μέγα γενό-  
μενον. Ξέρξης δὲ πᾶν μᾶλλον δοκέων μιν χρηῖ-  
σειν ἢ τὸ ἐδεήθη, ἔφη τε ὑπουργήσειν καὶ δὴ  
ἀγορεύειν ἐκέλευε, ὅτεν δέοιτο. ὁ δὲ, ἐπεὶ τε ταῦτα  
10 ἤκουσε, ἔλεγε θαρσήςας τάδε· ὦ δέσποτα, τυγχά-  
νουσί μοι παῖδες ἐόντες πέντε, καὶ σφεας καταλαμ-  
βάνει πάντας ἅμα σοὶ στρατεύεσθαι ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλ-  
λάδα. σὺ δὲ, ὦ βασιλεῦ, ἐμὲ ἐς τόδε ἡλικίης

Petition of  
Pythius.

ἤκοντα οἰκτεῖρας, τῶν μοι παίδων ἓνα πᾶράλυσον  
 τῆς στρατηγῆς, τὸν πρεσβύτατον, ἵνα αὐτοῦ τε 15  
 ἐμεῦ καὶ τῶν χρημάτων ἢ μελεδωνὸς, τοὺς δὲ  
 τέσσερας ἄγε ἅμα σεωντῶ· καὶ πρήξας τὰ νοέεις  
 39 νοστήσειας ὀπίσω. Κάρτα τε ἐθυμώθη ὁ Ξέρξης,

Reply of  
 Xerxes.

καὶ ἀμείβετο τοισίδε· ὦ κακὲ ἄνθρωπε,  
 σὺ ἐτόλμησας, ἐμεῦ στρατευομένου αὐτοῦ  
 ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα καὶ ἄγοντος παῖδας ἐμούς καὶ ἀδελ-  
 φεοὺς καὶ οἰκητῆρας καὶ φίλους, μνήσασθαι περὶ σέο 5  
 παιδὸς, ἐὼν ἐμὸς δούλος, τὸν χρῆν πανοικίῃ αὐτῇ  
 γυναικὶ συνέπεσθαι; εὖ νῦν τόδ' ἐξεπίστασο, ὥς  
 ἐν τοῖσι ὥσπ' αὐτῶν ἀνθρώπων οἰκέει ὁ θυμὸς, ὃς  
 χρηστὰ μὲν ἀκούσας τέρψιος ἐμπιπλέει τὸ σῶμα,  
 ὑπεναντία δὲ τούτοισι ἀκούσας ἀνοιδέει. ὅτε μὲν 10  
 νῦν χρηστὰ ποιήσας ἕτερα τοιαῦτα ἐπηγγέλλεο,  
 εὐεργεσίῃσι βασιλέα οὐ καυχῆσαι ὑπερβαλέσθαι·  
 ἐπεὶ τε δὲ ἐς τὸ ἀναιδέστερον ἐτράπευ, τὴν μὲν  
 ἀξίην οὐ λάμψαι, ἐλάσσω δὲ τῆς ἀξίης. σὲ μὲν  
 γὰρ καὶ τοὺς τέσσερας τῶν παίδων ῥύεται τὰ 15  
 ξείνια· τοῦ δὲ ἐνὸς, τοῦ περιέχειαι μάλιστα, τῇ  
 ψυχῇ ζημιώσεται. Ὡς δὲ ταῦτα ὑπεκρίνατο, αὐ-  
 τῇ ἐκέλευε τοῖσι προσετέτακτο ταῦτα πρῆσσειν,  
 τῶν Πυθίου παίδων ἐξευρόντας τὸν πρεσβύτατον  
 μέσον διαταμεῖν, διαταμόντας δὲ τὰ ἡμίτομα 20  
 διαθεῖναι, τὸ μὲν ἐπὶ δεξιὰ τῆς ὁδοῦ, τὸ δὲ ἐπ'  
 ἀριστερὰ, καὶ ταύτῃ διεξιέναι τὸν στρατόν.

40 Order of the  
 march: the  
 van. Πρὸς τὰς δὲ τούτων τοῦτο, μετὰ  
 ταῦτα διεξήϊε ὁ στρατός. Ἠγέοντο δὲ  
 πρῶτοι μὲν οἱ σκευοφόροι τε καὶ τὰ ὑποζύγια,  
 μετὰ δὲ τούτους στρατὸς παντοίων ἐθνέων ἀναμιξ,

5 οὐ διακεκριμένοι. τῇ δὲ ὑπερημίσεις ἦσαν, ἐν-  
 θαῦτα διελέλειπτο· καὶ οὐ συνέμισγον οὔτοι  
 βασιλείῃ. Προηγεῦντο μὲν δὴ ἵππόται χίλιοι, ἐκ  
 Περσέων πάντων ἀπολελεγμένοι, μετὰ δὲ αἰχμο-  
 φόροι χίλιοι, καὶ οὔτοι ἐκ πάντων ἀπολελεγμένοι,  
 10 τὰς λόγχας κάτω ἐς τὴν γῆν τρέψαντες, μετὰ δὲ  
 ἱροὶ Νισαῖοι καλούμενοι ἵπποι δέκα, κεκοσμημένοι  
 ὡς κάλλιστα. Νισαῖοι δὲ καλέονται ἵπποι ἐπὶ  
 τοῦδε. ἔστι πεδῖον μέγα τῆς Μηδικῆς, τῷ οὐνομά  
 ἐστι Νίσαιον· τοὺς ὧν δὴ ἵππους τοὺς μεγάλους  
 15 φέρει τὸ πεδῖον τοῦτο. ὅπισθε δὲ τούτων τῶν  
 δέκα ἵππων ἄρμα Διὸς ἱρὸν ἐπετέτακτο, τὸ ἵπποι  
 μὲν εἰλκον λευκοὶ ὀκτώ, ὅπισθε δὲ τῶν ἵππων  
 εἶπετο πεζῇ ἡνίοχος, ἐχόμενος τῶν χαλινῶν (οὐ-  
 δεὶς γὰρ δὴ ἐπὶ τοῦτον τὸν θρόνον ἀνθρώπων  
 20 ἀναβαίνει)· τούτου δὲ ὅπισθε αὐτὸς Ξέρξης ἐπ’  
 ἄρματος ἵππων Νισαίων· παρεβεβήκεε δὲ οἱ ἡνίο-  
 χος, τῷ οὐνομα ἦν Πατιράμφης, Ὀτάνεω παῖς,  
 ἀνδρὸς Πέρσεω. Ἐξήλασε μὲν δὴ οὕτω ἐκ Σαρδίων 41  
 Ξέρξης· μετεκβαίνεσκε δὲ, ὅκως μιν  
 λόγος αἰρέοι, ἐκ τοῦ ἄρματος ἐς ἄρμά-  
 μαξαν. αὐτοῦ δὲ ὅπισθε αἰχμοφόροι,

5 Περσέων οἱ ἄριστοί τε καὶ γενναιότατοι, χίλιοι,  
 κατὰ νόμον τὰς λόγχας ἔχοντες, μετὰ δὲ ἵππος  
 ἄλλη χιλίῃ ἐκ Περσέων ἀπολελεγμένη, μετὰ δὲ  
 τὴν ἵππον ἐκ τῶν λοιπῶν Περσέων ἀπολελεγ-  
 μένοι μύριοι. οὗτος πεζὸς ἦν· καὶ τούτων χίλιοι  
 10 μὲν ἐπὶ τοῖσι δόρασι ἀντὶ τῶν σαυρωτήρων ῥοιάς  
 εἶχον χρυσέας, καὶ περίξ συνεκλήϊον τοὺς ἄλλους·  
 αἱ δὲ εἰνακισχίλιοι ἐντὸς τούτων ἔοντες ἀργυρέας

Troops im-  
 mediately  
 behind  
 Xerxes.



- ροιάς εἶχον. εἶχον δὲ χρυσέας ροιάς καὶ οἱ ἐς τὴν  
 γῆν τρέποντες τὰς λόγχας, καὶ μῆλα οἱ ἄγχιστα  
 ἐπόμενοι Ξέρξῃ. τοῖσι δὲ μυρίοισι ἐπετέτακτο 15  
 ἵππος Περσέων μυρίη. μετὰ δὲ τὴν ἵππον διελέ-  
 λειπτο καὶ δύο σταδίους, καὶ ἔπειτα ὁ λοιπὸς  
 42 ὄμιλος ἦε ἀναμίξ. Ἐποιέετο δὲ τὴν ὁδὸν ἐκ τῆς  
 Λυδίας ὁ στρατὸς ἐπὶ τε ποταμὸν Καῖικον  
 καὶ γῆν τὴν Μυσίην, ἀπὸ δὲ Καῖκου  
 ὀρμεόμενος, Κάνης ὄρος ἔχων ἐν ἀρις-  
 τερῇ, διὰ τοῦ Ἀταρνέος ἐς Καρίνην πόλιν. ἀπὸ 5  
 δὲ ταύτης διὰ Θήβης πεδίου ἐπορεύετο, Ἀτρα-  
 μύττειόν τε πόλιν καὶ Ἀντανδρον τὴν Πελασγίδα  
 παραμειβόμενος. τὴν Ἰδην δὲ λαβὼν ἐς ἀρις-  
 τερὴν χεῖρα ἦε ἐς τὴν Ἰλιάδα γῆν. καὶ πρῶτα  
 μὲν οἱ ὑπὸ τῇ Ἰδῇ νύκτα ἀναμείναντι βρονταί τε 10  
 καὶ πρηστήρες ἐπεσπίπτουσι, καὶ τινα αὐτοῦ  
 43 ταύτῃ συχνὸν ὄμιλον διέφθειραν. Ἀπικομένου  
 δὲ τοῦ στρατοῦ ἐπὶ τὸν Σκάμανδρον, ὃς  
 πρῶτος ποταμῶν, ἐπεὶ τε ἐκ Σαρδίων  
 ὀρμηθέντες ἐπεχείρησαν τῇ ὁδῷ, ἐπέλιπε τὸ ρέ-  
 εθρον, οὐδ' ἀπέχρησε τῇ στρατιῇ τε καὶ τοῖσι 5  
 κτήνεσι πινόμενος, ἐπὶ τοῦτον δὴ τὸν ποταμὸν ὥς  
 ἀπύκετο Ξέρξης, ἐς τὸ Πριάμου Πέργαμον ἀνέβη,  
 ἡμερον ἔχων θεήσασθαι. θεησάμενος δὲ καὶ πυθό-  
 μενος ἐκείνων ἕκαστα, τῇ Ἀθηναίῃ τῇ Ἰλιάδι  
 ἔθυσε βοὺς χιλίας· χοὰς δὲ οἱ μάγοι τοῖσι ἥρωσι 10  
 ἐχέαντο. ταῦτα δὲ ποιησαμένοισι νυκτὸς φόβος  
 ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον ἐνέπεσε. ἅμα ἡμέρῃ δὲ ἐπο-  
 ρεύετο ἐνθεῦτεν, ἐν ἀριστερῇ μὲν ἀπέργων Ῥοίτειον  
 πόλιν καὶ Ὀφρύνειον καὶ Δάρδανον, ἥπερ δὴ

Arrival  
in the Troad;  
destructive  
storm.

Sacrifices at  
Troy; panic  
in the army.

15 Ἀβύδῳ ὁμουρός ἐστι, ἐν δεξιῇ δὲ Γέργιθας Τευκρούς.

Ἐπεὶ δ' ἐγένοντο ἐν Ἀβύδῳ, ἠθέλησε Ξέρξης 44  
 ιδέσθαι πάντα τὸν στρατόν. καὶ προε- Review at  
Abydos.  
 πεποίητο γὰρ ἐπὶ κολωνοῦ ἐπίτηδες  
 αὐτῷ ταύτῃ προεξέδρη λίθου λευκοῦ· ἐποίησαν  
 5 δὲ Ἀβυδηνοὶ, ἐντειλαμένου πρότερον βασιλέος.  
 ἐνθαῦτα ὡς ἴζετο, κατορῶν ἐπὶ τῆς ἡϊόνος ἐθηεῖτο  
 καὶ τὸν πεζὸν καὶ τὰς νέας, θηεύμενος δὲ ἰμέρθη  
 τῶν νεῶν ἄμιλλαν γινομένην ιδέσθαι. ἐπεὶ δ'  
 ἐγένετό τε καὶ ἐνίκων Φοίνικες Σιδώνιοι, ἦσθη τε  
 τῇ ἀμίλλῃ καὶ τῇ στρατιῇ. Ὡς δὲ ὥρα πάντα 45  
 μὲν τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον ὑπὸ τῶν νεῶν Emotion of  
Xerxes.  
 ἀποκεκρυμμένον, πάσας δὲ τὰς ἀκτὰς  
 καὶ τὰ Ἀβυδηνῶν πεδία ἐπίπλεα ἀνθρώπων, ἐν-  
 5 θαῦτα Ξέρξης ἐωυτὸν ἐμακάρισε, μετὰ δὲ τοῦτο  
 ἐδάκρυσε. Μαθὼν δέ μιν Ἀρτάβανος ὁ πάτριος, 46  
 ὃς τὸ πρῶτον γνώμην ἀπεδέξατο ἐλευθε- His conver-  
sation with  
Artabanus,  
 ρως, οὐ συμβουλευὼν Ξέρξῃ στρατεύ-  
 εσθαι ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα, οὗτος ὠνήρ φρασθεὶς  
 5 Ξέρξεα δακρύσαντα εἶρετο τάδε· ὦ βασιλεῦ, ὡς  
 πολὺ ἀλλήλων κεχωρισμένα ἐργάσαο νῦν τε καὶ  
 ὀλίγῳ πρότερον; μακαρίσας γὰρ σεωυτὸν δα-  
 κρύεις. Ὁ δὲ εἶπε· Ἐσῆλθε γάρ με λογισάμενον  
 κατοικτεῖραι, ὡς βραχὺς εἶη ὁ πᾶς ἀνθρώπινος  
 10 βίος, εἰ τούτων γε ἑόντων τοσούτων οὐδεὶς ἐς  
 ἑκατοστὸν ἔτος περιέσται. Ὁ δὲ ἀμείβετο λέγων·  
 Ἔτερα τούτου παρὰ τὴν ζόην πεπόνθαμεν οἰκ-  
 τρότερα· ἐν γὰρ οὕτῳ βραχεῖ βίῳ οὐδεὶς οὕτῳ  
 ἀνθρωπος ἐὼν εὐδαίμων πέφυκε, οὔτε τούτων οὔτε

- τῶν ἄλλων, τῷ οὐ παραστήσεται πολλάκις καὶ 15  
οὐκὶ ἅπαξ τεθνάναι βούλεσθαι μᾶλλον ἢ ζῶειν.  
αἷ τε γὰρ συμφοραὶ προσπίπτουσai, καὶ αἱ νοῦσοι  
συνταράσσουσai, καὶ βραχὺν ἔοντα μακρὸν δοκέειν  
εἶναι ποιεῦσι τὸν βίον. οὕτω ὁ μὲν θάνατος, μοχ-  
θηρῆς ἐούσης τῆς ζόης, καταφυγὴ αἰρετωτάτη τῷ 20  
ἀνθρώπῳ γέγονε· ὁ δὲ θεὸς, γλυκὺν γεύσας τὸν  
47 αἰῶνα, φθονερός ἐν αὐτῷ εὐρίσκεται ἐὼν. Ξέρξης  
δὲ ἀμείβετο λέγων· Ἀρτάβανε, βιοτῆς  
who ex-  
presses his  
misgivings; μὲν νυν ἀνθρωπηΐης πέρι, ἐούσης τοι-  
αύτης, οἴην περ σὺ διαιρέεαι εἶναι, παυσώμεθα,  
μηδὲ κακῶν μεμνέώμεθα, χρηστὰ ἔχοντες πρήγ- 5  
ματα ἐν χερσί. Φράσον δέ μοι τόδε· εἴ τοι ἡ  
ὄψις τοῦ ἐνυπνίου μὴ ἐναργῆς οὕτω ἐφάνη, εἶχες  
ἂν τὴν ἀρχαίην γνώμην, οὐκ ἐὼν με στρατεύεσθαι  
ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα, ἢ μετέστης ἂν; φέρε μοι τοῦτο  
ἀτρεκέως εἰπέ. Ὁ δὲ ἀμείβετο λέγων· Ὡ βασι- 10  
λεῦ, ὄψις μὲν ἡ ἐπιφανείσα τοῦ ὀνείρου, ὡς βου-  
λόμεθα ἀμφότεροι, τελευτήσκει. ἐγὼ δ' ἔτι καὶ ἐς  
τόδε δείματός εἰμι ὑπόπλεος, οὐδ' ἐντὸς ἐμεωυτοῦ,  
ἄλλα τε πολλὰ ἐπιλεγόμενος, καὶ δὴ καὶ ὀρέων τοι  
δύο τὰ μέγιστα πάντων ἔοντα πολεμιώτατα. 15  
48 Ξέρξης δὲ πρὸς ταῦτα ἀμείβετο τοισίδε· Δαιμόνιε  
to the as-  
tonishment  
of Xerxes. ἀνδρῶν, κοῖα ταῦτα λέγεις εἶναι δύο μοι  
πολεμιώτατα; κότερά τοι ὁ πεζὸς μεμ-  
πτὸς κατὰ τὸ πληθὸς ἐστι, καὶ τὸ Ἑλληνικὸν  
στράτευμα φαίνεται πολλαπλήσιον ἔσεσθαι τοῦ 5  
ἡμετέρου; ἢ τὸ ναυτικὸν τὸ ἡμέτερον λείψεσθαι  
τοῦ ἐκείνων; ἢ καὶ συναμφότερα ταῦτα; εἰ γάρ  
τοι ταύτῃ ἐνδεέστερα φαίνεται εἶναι τὰ ἡμέτερα

πρήγματα, στρατοῦ ἂν ἄλλου τις τὴν ταχίστην  
 ἄγερσιν ποιοῖτο. Ὁ δ' ἀμείβετο λέγων· Ὡ βασι- 49  
 λεύ, οὔτε στρατὸν τοῦτον, ὅστις γε σύν-  
 εσιν ἔχει, μέμφοιτ' ἂν, οὔτε τῶν νεῶν The grounds  
of his anxiety  
 τὸ πλήθος· ἦν τε πλεῦνας συλλέξης, τὰ δύο τοι, 1  
 5 τὰ λέγω, πολλῶ ἔτι πολεμιώτερα γίνεται. τὰ δὲ  
 δύο ταῦτα ἔστι γῆ τε καὶ θάλασσα. οὔτε γὰρ τῆς  
 θαλάσσης ἐστὶ λιμὴν τοσοῦτος οὐδαμόθι, ὥς ἐγὼ  
 εἰκάζω, ὅστις, ἐγειρομένου χειμῶνος, δεξάμενός  
 σευ τοῦτο τὸ ναυτικόν, φερέγγυος ἔσται διασῶσαι  
 10 τὰς νέας. καὶ τοι οὐκ ἓνα αὐτὸν δεῖ εἶναι τὸν  
 λιμένα, ἀλλὰ παρὰ πᾶσαν τὴν ἡπειρον, παρ' ἣν  
 δὴ κομίζεαι. οὐκ ὦν δὴ ἐόντων τοι λιμένων ὑπο-  
 δεξίων μάθε, ὅτι αἱ συμφοραὶ τῶν ἀνθρώπων  
 ἄρχουσι, καὶ οὐκ ὄνθρωποι τῶν συμφορέων. Καὶ 2  
 15 δὴ, τῶν δύο τοι τοῦ ἐτέρου εἰρημένου, τὸ ἕτερον  
 ἔρχομαι ἐρέων. γῆ δὲ πολεμὴ τῇδέ τοι κατίστα-  
 ται· εἰ ἐθέλει τοι μηδὲν ἀντίξουν καταστήναι,  
 τοσοῦτῳ τοι γίνεται πολεμιωτέρη, ὅσῳ ἂν προ-  
 βαίνης ἑκαστέρῳ, τὸ πρόσω αἰεὶ κλεπτόμενος.  
 20 εὐπρηξίης γὰρ οὐκ ἔστι ἀνθρώποισι οὐδεμία πλη-  
 θώρη. καὶ δὴ τοι, ὥς οὐδενὸς ἐναντιευμένου, λέγω  
 τὴν χώραν, πλεῦνα ἐν πλεῦνι χρόνῳ γινομένην,  
 λιμὸν τέξεσθαι. Ἀνὴρ δὲ οὕτω ἂν εἴη ἄριστος, εἰ  
 βουλευόμενος μὲν ἀρρωδέοι, πᾶν ἐπιλεγόμενος πεί-  
 σεσθαι χρῆμα, ἐν δὲ τῷ ἔργῳ θρασὺς εἴη. Ἀμεί- 50  
 βεται Ξέρξης τοισίδε· Ἀρτάβανε, οἰκότως are made  
light of by  
the King.  
 μὲν σύ γε τούτων ἑκαστα διαιρέαι· ἀτὰρ  
 μήτε πάντα φοβέο, μήτε πᾶν ὁμοίως ἐπιλέγεο.  
 5 Εἰ γὰρ δὴ βούλοιο ἐπὶ τῷ αἰεὶ ἐπεσφερομένῳ 1



πρήγματι τὸ πᾶν ὁμοίως ἐπιλέγεσθαι, ποιήσεως  
 ἂν οὐδαμὰ οὐδέν· κρέσσον δὲ, πάντα θαρσέοντα  
 ἡμῖσιν τῶν δεινῶν πάσχειν μᾶλλον ἢ πᾶν χρῆμα  
 προδειμαίνοντα μηδαμὰ μηδὲν παθεῖν. εἰ δὲ ἐρίζων  
 πρὸς πᾶν τὸ λεγόμενον μὴ τὸ βέβαιον ἀποδέξεις, 10  
 σφάλλεσθαι ὀφείλεις ἐν αὐτοῖσι ὁμοίως καὶ ὁ  
 ὑπεναντία τούτοις λέξας. τοῦτο μὲν νυν ἐπ' ἴσης  
 ἔχει. εἰδέναι δὲ ἄνθρωπον ἔοντα κῶς χρὴ τὸ  
 βέβαιον; δοκέω μὲν οὐδαμῶς. τοῖσι τοίνυν βου-  
 λομένοις ποιέειν ὥς τὸ ἐπίπαν φιλέει γίνεσθαι 15  
 τὰ κέρδεα, τοῖσι δὲ ἐπιλεγόμενοις τε πάντα καὶ  
 2 ὁκνεῦσι οὐ μάλα ἐθέλει. Ὅρᾳς τὰ Περσέων  
 πρήγματα ἐς ὃ δυνάμιος προκεχώρηκε· εἰ τοίνυν  
 ἐκεῖνοι οἱ πρὸ ἐμεῦ γενομένοι βασιλέες γνώμησι  
 ἐχρέοντο ὁμοίῃσι καὶ σὺν, ἢ μὴ χρεόμενοι γνώμησι 20  
 τοιαύτησι ἄλλους συμβούλους εἶχον τοιούτους,  
 οὐκ ἂν κοτε εἶδες αὐτὰ ἐς τοῦτο προελθόντα· νῦν  
 δὲ κινδύνους ἀναρριπτέοντες ἐς τοῦτό σφρα προη-  
 γάγοντο. μεγάλα γὰρ πρήγματα μεγάλοις κιν-  
 δύνουσι ἐθέλει καταϊρέεσθαι. Ἡμεῖς τοίνυν, ὁμοιεύ- 25  
 μενοι ἐκείνοις, ὥρην τε τοῦ ἔτεος καλλίστην  
 πορευόμεθα, καὶ καταστρεψάμενοι πᾶσαν τὴν  
 Εὐρώπην νοστήσομεν ὀπίσω, οὔτε λιμῶ ἐντυ-  
 χόντες οὐδαμόθι, οὔτε ἄλλο ἄχαρι παθόντες οὐδέν.  
 τοῦτο μὲν γὰρ αὐτοὶ πολλὴν φορβὴν φερόμενοι 30  
 πορευόμεθα· τοῦτο δὲ, τῶν ἂν κου ἐπιβέωμεν γῆν  
 καὶ ἔθνος, τούτων τὸν σῆτον ἔξομεν· ἐπ' ἀροτῆρας  
 δὲ καὶ οὐ νομάδας στρατενόμεθα ἄνδρας.  
 Λέγει Ἀρτάβανος μετὰ ταῦτα· ὦ  
 βασιλεῦ, ἐπεὶ τε ἀρρωδέειν οὐδὲν ἔῃς

πρῆγμα, σὺ δέ μεν συμβουλίην ἔνδεξαι· ἀναγκαίως  
 γὰρ ἔχει περὶ πολλῶν πρηγμάτων πλεῖνα λόγον  
 5 ἐκτείνειν. Κῦρος ὁ Καμβύσεω Ἰωνίην πᾶσαν,  
 πλὴν Ἀθηναίων, κατεστρέψατο δασμοφόρον εἶναι  
 Πέρσησι. τούτους ὦν τοὺς ἄνδρας συμβουλεύω  
 τοι μηδεμιῇ μηχανῇ ἄγειν ἐπὶ τοὺς πατέρας· καὶ  
 γὰρ ἄνευ τούτων οἰοί τέ εἶμεν τῶν ἐχθρῶν κατυ-  
 10 πέρτεροι γίνεσθαι. ἡ γὰρ σφεας, ἣν ἔπωνται, δεῖ  
 ἀδικωτάτους γίνεσθαι, καταδουλουμένους τὴν μη-  
 τρόπολιν, ἡ δικαιοτάτους, συνελευθεροῦντας. ἀδι-  
 κώτατοι μὲν νυν γινόμενοι οὐδὲν κέρδος μέγα ἡμῖν  
 προσβάλλουσι, δικαιοτάτοι δὲ γινόμενοι οἰοί τε  
 15 δηλήσασθαι μεγάλως τὴν σὴν στρατιὴν γίνονται.  
 Ἐς θυμὸν ὦν βάλεν καὶ τὸ παλαιὸν ἔπος, ὥς εὖ  
 εἴρηται, τὸ μὴ ἅμα ἀρχῇ πᾶν τέλος καταφαίνεσθαι.  
 Ἀμείβεται πρὸς ταῦτα Ξέρξης· Ἀρτάβανε, τῶν 52  
 ἀπεφῆναο γνωμέων σφάλλαι κατὰ ταύ-  
 την δὴ μάλιστα, ὃς Ἰωνας φοβέαι μὴ is disregarded by the King.  
 μεταβάλωσι, τῶν ἔχομεν γνῶμα μέγιστον, τῶν σὺ  
 5 τε μάρτυς γίνεαι καὶ οἱ συστρατευσάμενοι Δαρείῳ  
 ἄλλοι ἐπὶ Σκύθας, ὅτι ἐπὶ τούτοις ἡ πᾶσα  
 Περσικὴ στρατιὴ ἐγένετο διαφθεῖραι καὶ περι-  
 ποιῆσαι, οἱ δὲ δικαιοσύνην καὶ πιστότητα ἐνέ-  
 δωκαν, ἄχαρι δὲ οὐδέν. πάρεξ δὲ τούτου, ἐν τῇ  
 10 ἡμετέρῃ καταλιπόντας τέκνα τε καὶ γυναῖκας καὶ  
 χρήματα οὐδ' ἐπιλέγεσθαι χρὴ νεώτερόν τι ποιή-  
 σειν. Οὕτω μὴδὲ τοῦτο φοβέο, ἀλλὰ θυμὸν ἔχων  
 ἀγαθὸν σῶζε οἰκόν τε τὸν ἐμὸν καὶ τυραννίδα τὴν  
 ἐμήν· σοὶ γὰρ ἐγὼ μούνῳ ἐκ πάντων σκῆπτρα τὰ  
 15 ἐμὰ ἐπιτράπω.

- 53 Ταῦτα εἶπας καὶ Ἀρτάβανον ἀποστείλας ἐς  
Address of Xerxes to his generals. Σοῦσα δεύτερα μετεπέμψατο Ξέρξης  
 Περσέων τοὺς δοκιμωτάτους. ἐπεὶ δέ οἱ  
 παρήσαν, ἔλεγέ σφι τάδε· ὦ Πέρσαι, τῶνδ' ἐγὼ  
 ὑμέων χρηῖζων συνέλεξα, ἄνδρας τε γίνεσθαι ἀγα- 5  
 θοὺς καὶ μὴ καταισχύνειν τὰ πρόσθεν ἐργασμένα  
 Πέρσησι, ἐόντα μεγάλα τε καὶ πολλοῦ ἄξια. ἀλλ'  
 εἷς τε ἕκαστος καὶ οἱ σύμπαντες προθυμίην ἔχω-  
 μεν· ξυνὸν γὰρ τοῦτο πᾶσι ἀγαθὸν σπεύδεται.  
 Τῶνδε δὲ εἵνεκα προαγορεύω ἀντέχεσθαι τοῦ πο- 10  
 λέμου ἐντεταμένως· ὥς γὰρ ἐγὼ πυνθάνομαι, ἐπ'  
 ἄνδρας στρατευόμεθα ἀγαθοὺς, τῶν ἦν κρατήσωμεν,  
 οὐ μὴ τις ἡμῖν ἄλλος στρατὸς ἀντιστῇ κοτε ἀν-  
 θρώπων. νῦν δὲ διαβαίνωμεν ἐπευξάμενοι τοῖσι  
 54 θεοῖσι, οἳ Περσίδα γῆν λελόγχασι. Ταύτην μὲν  
His offerings and prayer. τὴν ἡμέρην παρεσκευάζοντο ἐς τὴν διά-  
 βασιν· τῇ δὲ ὑστεραίῃ ἀνέμενον τὸν  
 ἥλιον, ἐθέλοντες ἰδέσθαι ἀνίσχοντα, θυμῆματά τε  
 παντοῖα ἐπὶ τῶν γεφυρέων καταγίζοντες καὶ μυρ- 5  
 σίνησι στορνύντες τὴν ὁδόν. ὥς δ' ἐπανέτελλε ὁ  
 ἥλιος, σπένδων ἐκ χρυσέης φιάλης Ξέρξης ἐς τὴν  
 θάλασσαν εὐχετο πρὸς τὸν ἥλιον, μηδεμίαν οἱ  
 συντυχίην τοιαύτην γενέσθαι, ἢ μιν παύσει κατα-  
 στρέψασθαι τὴν Εὐρώπην πρότερον ἢ ἐπὶ τέρμασι 10  
 τοῖσι ἐκείνης γένηται. εὐξάμενος δὲ ἐσέβαλε τὴν  
 φιάλην ἐς τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον καὶ χρύσειον κρητῆρα  
 καὶ Περσικὸν ξίφος, τὸν ἀκινάκην καλέουσι. ταῦτα  
 οὐκ ἔχω ἀτρεκέως διακρίναι, οὔτε εἰ τῷ ἡλίῳ ἀνα-  
 τιθεὶς κατῆκε ἐς τὸ πέλαγος, οὔτε εἰ μετεμέλησέ 15  
 οἱ τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον μαστιγώσαντι, καὶ ἀντὶ

τούτων τὴν θάλασσαν ἔδωρέετο. Ὡς δὲ ταῦτά οἱ 55  
 ἔπεποιήτο, διέβαινον κατὰ μὲν τὴν ἐτέρην Crossing of  
the Helles-  
pont.  
 τῶν γεφυρέων τὴν πρὸς τοῦ Πόντου ὁ  
 πεζὸς τε καὶ ἡ ἵππος ἅπασα, κατὰ δὲ τὴν πρὸς τὸ  
 5 Αἰγαῖον τὰ ὑποζύγια καὶ ἡ θεραπηΐη. ἡγέοντο  
 δὲ πρῶτα μὲν οἱ μύριοι Πέρσαι, ἐστεφανωμένοι  
 πάντες· μετὰ δὲ τούτους ὁ σύμμικτος στρατὸς  
 παντοίων ἐθνέων. ταύτην μὲν τὴν ἡμέρην οὗτοι,  
 τῇ δὲ ὑστεραίῃ πρῶτοι μὲν οἳ τε ἱππόται καὶ οἱ  
 10 τὰς λόγχας κάτω τρέποντες· ἐστεφάνωντο δὲ καὶ  
 οὗτοι· μετὰ δὲ οἳ τε ἵπποι οἱ ἱροὶ καὶ τὸ ἄρμα τὸ  
 ἱρόν· ἐπὶ δὲ αὐτός τε Ξέρξης καὶ οἱ αἰχμοφόροι,  
 καὶ οἱ ἱππόται οἱ χίλιοι· ἐπὶ δὲ τούτοις ὁ ἄλλος  
 στρατός· καὶ αἱ νῆες ἅμα ἀνήγοντο ἐς τὴν ἀπε-  
 15 ναντίον. ἤδη δὲ ἤκουσα καὶ ὕστατον διαβῆναι  
 βασιλέα πάντων. Ξέρξης δὲ, ἐπεὶ τε διέβη ἐς 56  
 τὴν Εὐρώπην, ἐθηεῖτο τὸν στρατὸν ὑπὸ  
 μαστίγων διαβαίνοντα. διέβη δὲ ὁ στρα- Impression  
produced by  
the army.  
 τὸς αὐτοῦ ἐν ἑπτὰ ἡμέρησι καὶ ἐν ἑπτὰ εὐφρόνησι,  
 5 ἑλινύσας οὐδένα χρόνον. Ἐνθαῦτα λέγεται, Ξέρ-  
 ξεω ἤδη διαβεβηκότος τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον, ἄνδρα  
 εἰπεῖν Ἑλλησπόντιον· ὦ Ζεῦ, τί δὴ ἀνδρὶ εἰ-  
 δόμενος Πέρση, καὶ οὖνομα ἀντὶ Διὸς Ξέρξεα  
 θέμενος, ἀνάστατον τὴν Ἑλλάδα ἐθέλεις ποιῆσαι,  
 10 ἄγων πάντας ἀνθρώπους; καὶ γὰρ ἄνευ τούτων  
 ἐξὴν τοι ποίειν ταῦτα.

Ὡς δὲ διέβησαν πάντες, ἐς ὁδὸν ὀρμημένοις 57  
 τέρας σφί ἐφάνη μέγα, τὸ Ξέρξης ἐν Ominous  
portents.  
 οὐδενὶ λόγῳ ἐποιήσατο, καὶ περ εὐσύμ-  
 βλητον εἶν· ἵππος γὰρ ἔτεκε λαγόν. εὐσύμ-



βλητον ὦν τῇδε τοῦτο ἐγένετο, ὅτι ἔμελλε μὲν 5  
 ἑλᾶν στρατιὴν ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα Ξέρξης ἀγαυρό-  
 τατα καὶ μεγαλοπρεπέστατα, ὀπίσω δὲ περὶ  
 ἑωυτοῦ τρέχων ἤξειν ἐς τὸν αὐτὸν χῶρον. Ἐγέ-  
 νετο δὲ καὶ ἕτερον αὐτῷ τέρας ἔοντι ἐν Σάρδισι·  
 ἡμίονος γὰρ ἔτεκε ἡμίονον διζὰ ἔχουσιν αἰδοῖα, τὰ 10  
 μὲν ἔρσενος, τὰ δὲ θηλέης, κατύπερθε δὲ ἦν τὰ τοῦ  
 58 ἔρσενος. Τῶν ἀμφοτέρων λόγον οὐδένα ποιησά-  
 μενος τὸ πρόσω ἐπορεύετο, σὺν δέ οἱ  
 ὁ πεζὸς στρατός. ὁ δὲ ναυτικός ἔξω τὸν  
 Ἑλλήσποντον πλέων παρὰ γῆν ἐκομίζετο, τὰ ἔμ-  
 παλιν πρήσσω τοῦ πεζοῦ. ὁ μὲν γὰρ πρὸς 5  
 ἐσπέρην ἔπλεε, ἐπὶ Σαρπηδονίης ἄκρης τὴν ἀπιξιν  
 ποιεύμενος, ἐς τὴν αὐτῷ προείρητο ἀπικομένῳ  
 περιμένειν· ὁ δὲ κατ' ἡπειρον στρατὸς πρὸς ἡῶ  
 τε καὶ ἡλίου ἀνατολὰς ἐποιέετο τὴν ὁδὸν διὰ τῆς  
 Χερσονήσου, ἐν δεξιῇ μὲν ἔχων τὸν Ἑλλης τάφον 10  
 τῆς Ἀθάμαντος, ἐν ἀριστερῇ δὲ Καρδίην πόλιν, διὰ  
 μέσης δὲ πορευόμενος πόλιος, τῇ οὖνομα τυγχάνει  
 ἔὼν Ἀγορή. ἐνθεῦτεν δὲ κάμπτων τὸν κόλπον  
 τὸν Μέλανα καλεόμενον, καὶ Μέλανα ποταμὸν,  
 οὐκ ἀντισχόντα τότε τῇ στρατιῇ τὸ ῥέεθρον, ἀλλ' 15  
 ἐπιλιπόντα, τοῦτον τὸν ποταμὸν διαβάς, ἐπ' οὗ  
 καὶ ὁ κόλπος οὗτος τὴν ἐπωνυμίην ἔχει, ἥϊε πρὸς  
 ἐσπέρην, Αἰνὸν τε πόλιν Αἰολίδα καὶ Στεντορίδα  
 59 λίμνην παρεξιὼν, ἐς δ' ἀπῆκετο ἐς Δορίσκον. Ὁ  
 δὲ Δορίσκος ἐστὶ τῆς Θρηϊκῆς αἰγιαλός  
 τε καὶ πεδίου μέγα, διὰ δὲ αὐτοῦ ῥέει  
 ποταμὸς μέγας Ἐβρος, ἐν τῷ τείχός τε ἐδέδμητο  
 βασιλῆϊον τοῦτο, τὸ δὴ Δορίσκος κέκληται, καὶ 5

Arrival at  
Doricus.

Numbering  
of the host.

Περσέων φρουρὴ ἐν αὐτῷ κατεστήκει ὑπὸ Δαρείου  
ἐξ ἐκείνου τοῦ χρόνου, ἐπεὶ τε ἐπὶ Σκύθας ἐστρα-  
τεύετο. ἔδοξε ὦν τῷ Ξέρξῃ ὁ χώρος εἶναι ἐπι-  
τήδεος ἐνδιατάξαι τε καὶ ἐξαριθμῆσαι τὸν στρατόν.  
10 καὶ ἐποίησε ταῦτα. τὰς μὲν δὴ νέας τὰς πάσας  
ἀπικομένας ἐς Δορίσκον οἱ ναύαρχοι, κελεύσαντος  
Ξέρξεω, ἐς τὸν αἰγαλὸν τὸν προσεχέα Δορίσκῳ  
ἐκόμισαν, ἐν τῷ Σάλη τε Σαμοθρηϊκίῃ πεπόλισται  
πόλις καὶ Ζώνη, τελευταία δὲ αὐτοῦ, Σέρρειον,  
15 ἄκρῃ οὐνομαστή· ὁ δὲ χώρος οὗτος τὸ παλαιὸν ἦν  
Κικόνων. ἐς τοῦτον τὸν αἰγιαλὸν κατασχόντες  
τὰς νέας ἀνέψυχον ἀνελκύσαντες. ὁ δὲ ἐν τῷ  
Δορίσκῳ τοῦτον τὸν χρόνον τῆς στρατιῆς ἀριθμὸν  
ἐποιέετο. "Οσον μὲν νυν ἕκαστοι παρεῖχον πλήθος 60  
ἐς ἀριθμὸν, οὐκ ἔχω εἶπαι τὸ ἀτρεκές· οὐ γὰρ  
λέγεται πρὸς οὐδαμῶν ἀνθρώπων· σύμπαντος δὲ  
τοῦ στρατοῦ τοῦ πεζοῦ τὸ πλήθος ἐφάνη ἐβδομή-  
5 κοντα καὶ ἑκατὸν μυριάδες. Ἐξηρίθμησαν δὲ  
τόνδε τὸν τρόπον. συναγαγόντες ἐς ἓνα χώρον  
μυριάδα ἀνθρώπων, καὶ συννάξαντες ταύτην ὡς  
μάλιστα εἶχον, περιέγραψαν ἔξωθεν κύκλον· περι-  
γράψαντες δὲ καὶ ἀπέντες τοὺς μυρίους, αἵμασιήν  
10 περιέβαλον κατὰ τὸν κύκλον, ὕψος ἀνήκουσαν  
ἀνδρὶ ἐς τὸν ὀμφαλόν. ταύτην δὲ ποιήσαντες  
ἄλλους ἐσεβίβαζον ἐς τὸ περιοικοδομημένον, μέ-  
χρις οὗ πάντα τούτῳ τῷ τρόπῳ ἐξηρίθμησαν·  
ἀριθμήσαντες δὲ κατὰ ἔθνεα διέτασσον.

Οἱ δὲ στρατευόμενοι οἶδε ἦσαν· Πέρσαι μὲν 61  
ὦδε ἐσκευασμένοι· περὶ μὲν τῇσι κεφαλῇσι εἶχον  
τιάρας καλεομένους, πέλους ἀπαγέας, περὶ δὲ τὸ

σῶμα κιθῶνας χειριδωτοὺς ποικίλους, λεπίδος  
 σιδηρέης ὄψιν ἰχθυοειδέος, περὶ δὲ τὰ σκέλεα 5  
 ἀναξυρίδας, ἀντὶ δὲ ἀσπίδων γέρρα. ὑπὸ δὲ φаре-  
 τρεῶνες ἐκρέμαντο, αἰχμὰς δὲ βραχέας εἶχον, τόξα  
 δὲ μεγάλα, οἷστοὺς δὲ καλαμίνους, πρὸς δὲ ἐγχει-  
 ρίδια παρὰ τὸν δεξιὸν μηρὸν παραιωρεύμενα ἐκ  
 τῆς ζώνης. καὶ ἄρχοντα παρείχοντο Ὀτάνεα, 10  
 τὸν Ἀμῆστριος πατέρα, τῆς Ξέρξεω γυναικός.  
 Ἐκαλέοντο δὲ πάλαι ὑπὸ μὲν Ἑλλήνων Κηφῆνες,  
 ὑπὸ μέντοι σφέων αὐτῶν καὶ τῶν περιόικων Ἀρ-  
 ταῖοι. ἐπεὶ δὲ Περσεὺς ὁ Δανάης τε καὶ Διὸς  
 ἀπῖκετο παρὰ Κηφέα τὸν Βήλου, καὶ ἔσχε αὐτοῦ 15  
 τὴν θυγατέρα Ἀνδρομέδην, γίνεται αὐτῷ παῖς, τῷ  
 οὔνομα ἔθετο Πέρσην. τοῦτον δὲ αὐτοῦ κατα-  
 λείπει· ἐτύγχανε γὰρ ἄπαις εἶναι ὁ Κηφεὺς ἔρσηνος  
 γόνου. ἐπὶ τούτου δὲ τὴν ἐπωνυμίην ἔσχον.  
 62 Μῆδοι δὲ τὴν αὐτὴν ταύτην ἐσταλμένοι ἐστρα-  
 τεύοντο· Μηδικὴ γὰρ αὕτη ἢ σκευὴ ἐστὶ καὶ οὐ  
 Περσικὴ. οἱ δὲ Μῆδοι ἄρχοντα μὲν παρείχοντο  
 Τιγράνην, ἄνδρα Ἀχαιμενίδην. ἐκαλέοντο δὲ πάλαι  
 πρὸς πάντων Ἀριοι· ἀπικομένης δὲ Μηδείης τῆς 5  
 Κολχίδος ἐξ Ἀθηνέων εἰς τοὺς Ἀρίους τούτους,  
 μετέβαλον καὶ οὗτοι τὸ οὔνομα. αὐτοὶ δὲ περὶ  
 σφέων ὧδε λέγουσι Μῆδοι. Κίσσιοι δὲ στρα-  
 τευόμενοι τὰ μὲν ἄλλα κατὰ περ Πέρσαι ἐσκευά-  
 दाτο, ἀντὶ δὲ τῶν πύλων μιτρηφόροι ἦσαν. Κισ- 10  
 σίων δὲ ἦρχε Ἀνάφης ὁ Ὀτάνεω. Ὑρκάνιοι δὲ  
 κατὰ περ Πέρσαι ἐσεσάχατο, ἡγεμόνα παρεχό-  
 μενοι Μεγάπανον, τὸν Βαβυλῶνος ὕστερον τούτων  
 63 ἐπιτροπεύσαντα. Ἀσσύριοι δὲ στρατευόμενοι περὶ

μὲν τῇσι κεφαλῇσι εἶχον χάλκεά τε κράνεα καὶ  
 πεπλεγμένα τρόπον τινὰ βάρβαρον οὐκ εὐαπή-  
 γητον· ἀσπίδας δὲ καὶ αἰχμὰς καὶ ἐγχειρίδια  
 5 παραπλήσια τῇσι Αἰγυπτίησι εἶχον, πρὸς δὲ  
 ῥόπαλα ξύλων τετυλωμένα σιδήρῳ καὶ λινέους  
 θώρηκας. οὗτοι δὲ ὑπὸ μὲν Ἑλλήνων ἐκαλέοντο  
 Σύριοι, ὑπὸ δὲ τῶν βαρβάρων Ἀσσύριοι ἐκλή-  
 θησαν. τούτων δὲ μεταξὺ Χαλδαῖοι· ἦρχε δὲ  
 σφεων Ὀτάσπης ὁ Ἀρταχάιου. Βάκτριοι δὲ περὶ 64  
 μὲν τῇσι κεφαλῇσι ἀγχότατα τῶν Μηδικῶν ἔχον-  
 τες ἐστρατεύοντο, τόξα δὲ καλάμινα ἐπιχώρια καὶ  
 αἰχμὰς βραχεάς. Σάκαι δὲ οἱ Σκύθαι περὶ μὲν  
 5 τῇσι κεφαλῇσι κυρβασίας ἐς ὄξυ ἀπιγμένας ὀρθὰς  
 εἶχον πεπηγυίας, ἀναξυρίδας δὲ ἐνδεδύκεσαν· τόξα  
 δὲ ἐπιχώρια καὶ ἐγχειρίδια, πρὸς δὲ καὶ ἀξίνας  
 σαγάρεις εἶχον. τούτους δὲ, ἔοντας Σκύθας Ἀμυρ-  
 γίους, Σάκας ἐκάλεον· οἱ γὰρ Πέρσαι πάντας τοὺς  
 10 Σκύθας καλέουσι Σάκας. Βακτριῶν δὲ καὶ Σακέων  
 ἦρχε Ὑστάσπης, ὁ Δαρείου τε καὶ Ἀτόσσης τῆς  
 Κύρου. Ἴνδοι δὲ εἴματα μὲν ἐνδεδυκότες ἀπὸ 65  
 ξύλων πεποιημένα, τόξα δὲ καλάμινα εἶχον καὶ  
 οἷστοὺς καλαμίνους· ἐπὶ δὲ σίδηρον ἦν. ἐσταλ-  
 μένοι μὲν δὴ ἦσαν οὕτω Ἴνδοι· προσετετάχατο  
 5 δὲ συστρατευόμενοι Φαρναζάθρη τῷ Ἀρταβάτew.  
 Ἄριοι δὲ τόξοισι μὲν ἐσκευασμένοι ἦσαν Μηδι- 66  
 κοῖσι, τὰ δὲ ἄλλα κατὰ περ Βάκτριοι. Ἀρίων δὲ  
 ἦρχε Σισάμνης ὁ Ὑδάρνεος. Πάρθοι δὲ καὶ Χορά-  
 σμιοι, καὶ Σογδοί τε καὶ Γανδάριοι καὶ Δαδίκαι,  
 5 τὴν αὐτὴν σκευὴν ἔχοντες τὴν καὶ Βάκτριοι,  
 ἐστρατεύοντο. τούτων δὲ ἦρχον οἷδε· Πάρθων μὲν



καὶ Χορασμίῳ Ἀρτάβαζος ὁ Φαρνάκεω, Σογδῶν  
 δὲ Ἀζάνης ὁ Ἀρταίου, Γανδαρίων δὲ καὶ Δαδικέων  
 67 Ἀρτύφιος ὁ Ἀρταβάνου. Κάσπιοι δὲ σισύρας τε  
 ἐνδεδυκότες, καὶ τόξα ἐπιχώρια καλάμινα ἔχον-  
 τες καὶ ἀκινάκας, ἐστρατεύοντο. οὔτοι μὲν οὕτω  
 ἐσκευάδατο, ἡγεμόνα παρεχόμενοι Ἀριόμαρδον τὸν  
 Ἀρτυφίου ἀδελφεόν. Σαραγγαὶ δὲ εἴματα μὲν 5  
 βεβαμμένα ἐνέπρεπον ἔχοντες, πέδιλα δὲ ἐς γόνυ  
 ἀνατείνοντα εἶχον, τόξα δὲ καὶ αἰχμὰς Μηδικάς·  
 Σαραγγέων δὲ ἦρχε Φερενδάτης ὁ Μεγαβάζου.  
 Πάκτυες δὲ σισυροφόροι τε ἦσαν καὶ τόξα ἐπι-  
 χώρια εἶχον καὶ ἐγχειρίδια. Πάκτυες δὲ ἄρχοντα 10  
 68 παρείχοντο Ἀρτύνην τὸν Ἰθαμάτρεω. Οὔτιοι δὲ  
 καὶ Μύκοι τε καὶ Παρικάνιοι ἐσκευασμένοι ἦσαν  
 κατὰ περ Πάκτυες· τούτων δὲ ἦρχον οἶδε· Οὔτιων  
 μὲν καὶ Μύκων Ἀρσάμενης ὁ Δαρείου, Παρικανίων  
 69 δὲ Σιρομίτρης ὁ Οἰοβάζου. Ἀράβιοι δὲ ζειρὰς  
 ὑπεζωσμένοι ἦσαν, τόξα δὲ παλίντονα εἶχον πρὸς  
 δεξιὰ, μακρά. Αἰθίοπες δὲ παρδαλέας τε καὶ  
 λεοντέας ἐναμμένοι, τόξα δὲ εἶχον ἐκ φοίνικος  
 σπάθης πεποιημένα, μακρά, τετραπηχέων οὐκ 5  
 ἐλάσσω, ἐπὶ δὲ καλαμίνοὺς οὔστους σμικροὺς· ἀντὶ  
 δὲ σιδήρου ἐπὴν λίθος ὀξύς πεποιημένος, τῷ καὶ  
 τὰς σφρηγίδας γλύφουσι. πρὸς δὲ αἰχμὰς εἶχον·  
 ἐπὶ δὲ κέρας δορκάδος ἐπὴν ὀξύ πεποιημένον,  
 τρόπον λόγχης· εἶχον δὲ καὶ ῥόπαλα τυλωτά. 10  
 τοῦ δὲ σώματος τὸ μὲν ἥμισυ ἐξηλείφοντο γύψῳ,  
 ἰόντες ἐς μάχην, τὸ δ' ἕτερον ἥμισυ μίλτῳ. Ἀρα-  
 βίων δὲ καὶ Αἰθιόπων τῶν ὑπὲρ Αἰγύπτου οἰκη-  
 μένων ἦρχε Ἀρσάμης, ὁ Δαρείου καὶ Ἀρτυστῶνης

15 τῆς Κύρου θυγατρὸς, τὴν μάλιστα στέρξας τῶν  
 γυναικῶν Δαρεῖος εἰκὼ χρυσέην σφυρήλατον ἐποι-  
 ῆσατο. τῶν μὲν δὴ ὑπὲρ Αἰγύπτου Αἰθιοπῶν καὶ  
 Ἀραβίων ἦρχε Ἀρσάμης. Οἱ δὲ ἀπὸ ἡλίου ἀνα- 70  
 τολέων Αἰθίοπες (διξοὶ γὰρ δὴ ἐστρατεύοντο) προσ-  
 ετετάχατο τοῖσι Ἰνδοῖσι, διαλλάσσοντες εἶδος  
 μὲν οὐδὲν τοῖσι ἑτέροισι, φωνὴν δὲ καὶ τρίχωμα  
 5 μῦνον. οἱ μὲν γὰρ ἀπ' ἡλίου Αἰθίοπες ἰθύτριχές  
 εἰσι, οἱ δὲ ἐκ τῆς Λιβύης οὐλότατον τρίχωμα  
 ἔχουσι πάντων ἀνθρώπων. οὗτοι δὲ οἱ ἐκ τῆς  
 Ἀσίας Αἰθίοπες τὰ μὲν πλέω κατὰ περ Ἰνδοὶ  
 ἐσεσάχατο, προμετωπίδια δὲ ἵππων εἶχον ἐπὶ τῇσι  
 10 κεφαλῇσι, σὺν τε τοῖσι ὥσιν ἐκδεδαρμένα καὶ τῇ  
 λοφιῇ· καὶ ἀντὶ μὲν λόφου ἢ λοφιῇ κατέχρα, τὰ  
 δὲ ὦτα τῶν ἵππων ὀρθὰ πεπηγότα εἶχον, προ-  
 βλήματα δὲ ἀντ' ἀσπίδων ἐποιεῦντο γεράνων  
 δοράς. Λίβυες δὲ σκευὴν μὲν σκυτίνην ἥϊσαν 71  
 ἔχοντες, ἀκοντίοισι δὲ ἐπικαύτοισι χρεώμενοι.  
 ἄρχοντα δὲ παρείχοντο Μασσάγην τὸν Ὀαρίζου.  
 Παφλαγόνες δὲ ἐστρατεύοντο, ἐπὶ μὲν τῇσι κεφα- 72  
 λῇσι ἔχοντες κράνεα πεπλεγμένα, ἀσπίδας δὲ  
 σμικρὰς, αἰχμὰς δὲ οὐ μεγάλας, πρὸς δὲ ἀκόντια  
 καὶ ἐγχειρίδια, περὶ δὲ τοὺς πόδας πέδιλα ἐπι-  
 5 χῶρια ἐς μέσῃ κνήμῃ ἀνατείνοντα. Λίγυες δὲ  
 καὶ Ματιηνοὶ, καὶ Μαριανδυνοὶ τε καὶ Σύριοι, τὴν  
 αὐτὴν ἔχοντες Παφλαγόσι, ἐστρατεύοντο. οἱ δὲ  
 Σύριοι οὗτοι ὑπὸ Περσέων Καππαδοκαὶ καλέονται.  
 Παφλαγόνων μὲν νυν καὶ Ματιηνῶν Δῶτος ὁ  
 10 Μεγασίδρου ἦρχε, Μαριανδυνῶν δὲ καὶ Λιγύων  
 καὶ Συρίων Γωβρύης ὁ Δαρείου τε καὶ Ἀρτυ-

- 73 στῶνῃς. Φρύγες δὲ ἀγχοτάτῳ τῆς Παφλαγονικῆς  
 σκευὴν εἶχον, ὀλίγον παραλλάσσοντες. οἱ δὲ  
 Φρύγες, ὡς Μακεδόνες λέγουσι, ἐκαλέοντο Βρίγες  
 χρόνον ὅσον Εὐρώπῃοι ἐόντες σύνοικοι ἦσαν  
 Μακεδόσι, μεταβάντες δὲ εἰς τὴν Ἀσίην, ἅμα τῇ 5  
 χώρα καὶ τὸ οὖνομα μετέβαλον εἰς Φρύγας. Ἀρ-  
 μένιοι δὲ κατὰ περ Φρύγες ἐσεσάχατο, ἐόντες  
 Φρυγῶν ἄποικοι. τούτων συναμφοτέρων ἦρχε  
 74 Ἀρτόχμης, Δαρείου ἔχων θυγατέρα. Λυδοὶ δὲ  
 ἀγχοτάτῳ τῶν Ἑλληνικῶν εἶχον ὅπλα. οἱ δὲ  
 Λυδοὶ Μητόνες ἐκαλεῖντο τὸ πάλαι, ἐπὶ δὲ Λυδοῦ  
 τοῦ Ἄττος ἔσχον τὴν ἐπωνυμίην, μεταβαλόντες  
 τὸ οὖνομα. Μυσοὶ δὲ ἐπὶ μὲν τῇσι κεφαλῇσι 5  
 εἶχον κράνεα ἐπιχώρια, ἀσπίδας δὲ σμικρὰς, ἀκον-  
 τίοισι δὲ ἐχρέωντο ἐπικαύτοισι. οὗτοι δὲ εἰσι  
 Λυδῶν ἄποικοι, ἀπ' Οὐλύμπου δὲ οὔρεος καλέον-  
 ται Οὐλυμπιηνοί. Λυδῶν δὲ καὶ Μυσῶν ἦρχε  
 Ἀρταφέρνης ὁ Ἀρταφέρνεος, ὃς εἰς Μαραθῶνα 10  
 75 ἐσέβαλε ἅμα Δάτι. Θρήϊκες δὲ ἐπὶ μὲν τῇσι  
 κεφαλῇσι ἄλωπεκέας ἔχοντες ἐστρατεύοντο, περὶ  
 δὲ τὸ σῶμα κιθῶνας, ἐπὶ δὲ ζειρὰς περιβεβλημένοι  
 ποικίλας, περὶ δὲ τοὺς πόδας τε καὶ τὰς κνήμας  
 πέδιλα νεβρῶν, πρὸς δὲ ἀκόντιά τε καὶ πέλτας 5  
 καὶ ἐγχειρίδια σμικρά. οὗτοι δὲ διαβάντες μὲν εἰς  
 τὴν Ἀσίην ἐκλήθησαν Βιθυνοί, τὸ δὲ πρότερον  
 ἐκαλέοντο, ὡς αὐτοὶ λέγουσι, Στρυμόνιοι, οἰκέοντες  
 ἐπὶ Στρυμόνι· ἐξαναστῆναι δὲ φασι ἐξ ἡθέων ὑπὸ  
 76 Τευκρῶν τε καὶ Μυσῶν. Θρηϊκῶν δὲ τῶν ἐν τῇ  
 Ἀσίῃ ἦρχε Βασσάκης ὁ Ἀρταβάνου.....ἀσπίδας  
 δὲ ὠμοβοῖνας εἶχον σμικρὰς, καὶ προβόλους δύο

λυκιοεργέας ἕκαστος εἶχε, ἐπὶ δὲ τῇσι κεφαλῇσι  
 5 κράνεα χάλκεα, πρὸς δὲ τοῖσι κράνεσι ὧτά τε καὶ  
 κέρα προσῆν βοὸς χάλκεα, ἐπήσαν δὲ καὶ λόφοι·  
 τὰς δὲ κνήμας ῥάκεσι φοινικέοισι κατειλίχατο.  
 ἐν τούτοισι τοῖσι ἀνδράσι Ἄρεός ἐστι χρηστήριον.  
 Καβηλέες δὲ οἱ Μηῖονες, Λασόνιοι δὲ καλεούμενοι, 77  
 τὴν αὐτὴν Κίλιξι εἶχον σκευὴν, τὴν ἐγὼ, ἐπεὰν  
 κατὰ τὴν Κιλικῶν τάξιν διεξιὼν γένωμαι, τότε  
 σημανέω. Μιλύαι δὲ αἰχμὰς τε βραχέας εἶχον  
 5 καὶ εἴματα ἐνεπεπορπέατο· εἶχον δὲ αὐτῶν τόξα  
 μετεξέτεροι Λύκια, περὶ δὲ τῇσι κεφαλῇσι ἐκ  
 διφθερέων πεποιημένας κυνέας. τούτων πάντων  
 ἦρχε Βάδρης ὁ Ὑστάνεος. Μόσχοι δὲ περὶ μὲν 78  
 τῇσι κεφαλῇσι κυνέας ξυλίνας εἶχον, ἀσπίδας δὲ  
 καὶ αἰχμὰς σμικρὰς, λόγχαι δὲ ἐπήσαν μεγάλαι.  
 Τιβαρηνοὶ δὲ καὶ Μάκρωνες καὶ Μοσύνοικοι κατὰ  
 5 περ Μόσχοι ἐσκευασμένοι ἐστρατεύοντο. τούτους  
 δὲ συνέτασσαν ἄρχοντες οἶδε· Μόσχους μὲν καὶ  
 Τιβαρηνούς Ἀριόμαρδος ὁ Δαρείου τε παῖς καὶ  
 Πάρμνος τῆς Σμέρδιος τοῦ Κύρου, Μάκρωνας δὲ  
 καὶ Μοσυνοίκους Ἀρταύκτης ὁ Χεράσμιος, ὃς  
 Σηστόν τὴν ἐν Ἑλλησπόντῳ ἐπετρόπευε. Μᾶρες 79  
 δὲ ἐπὶ μὲν τῇσι κεφαλῇσι κράνεα ἐπιχώρια πλεκτὰ  
 εἶχον, ἀσπίδας δὲ δερματίνας σμικρὰς καὶ ἀκόντια.  
 Κόλχοι δὲ περὶ μὲν τῇσι κεφαλῇσι κράνεα ξύλινα,  
 5 ἀσπίδας δὲ ὠμοβοῖνας σμικρὰς, αἰχμὰς τε βρα-  
 χέας, πρὸς δὲ καὶ μαχαίρας εἶχον. Μαρών δὲ καὶ  
 Κόλχων ἦρχε Φαρανδάτης ὁ Τεάσπιος. Ἀλα-  
 ρόδιοι δὲ καὶ Σάσπειρες κατὰ περ Κόλχοι ὥπλισ-  
 μένοι ἐστρατεύοντο· τούτων δὲ Μασίστιος ὁ Σιρο-



80 μίτρεω ἦρχε. Τὰ δὲ νησιωτικὰ ἔθνεα τὰ ἐκ τῆς Ἐρυθρῆς θαλάσσης ἐπόμενα, νήσων δὲ, ἐν τῇσι τοὺς ἀνασπάστους καλεομένους κατοικίζει βασιλεὺς, ἀγχοτάτω τῶν Μηδικῶν εἶχον ἐσθῆτά τε καὶ ὄπλα. τούτων δὲ τῶν νησιωτέων ἦρχε Μαρ- 5 δόντης ὁ Βαγαίου, ὃς ἐν Μυκάλῃ στρατηγέων δευτέρῳ ἔτει τούτων ἐτελεύτησε ἐν τῇ μάχῃ.

81 Ταῦτα ἦν τὰ κατ' ἡπειρον στρατευόμενά τε ἔθνεα καὶ τεταγμένα ἐς τὸ πεζόν. τούτου ὦν τοῦ στρατοῦ ἦρχον οὗτοι, οἵπερ εἰρέαται· καὶ οἱ διατάξαντες καὶ ἐξαριθμήσαντες οὗτοι ἦσαν, καὶ χιλιάρχας τε καὶ μυριάρχας ἀποδέξαντες, ἑκατον- 5 τάρχας δὲ καὶ δεκάρχας οἱ μυριάρχαι. τελέων δὲ καὶ ἐθνέων ἦσαν ἄλλοι σημάντορες. ἦσαν μὲν

82 δὴ οὗτοι, οἵπερ εἰρέαται, ἄρχοντες. Ἐστρατήγεον δὲ τούτων τε καὶ τοῦ σύμπαντος στρατοῦ τοῦ πεζοῦ Μαρδονίος τε ὁ Γωβρύεω καὶ Τριτανταίχμης ὁ Ἀρταβάνου, τοῦ γινώμην θεμένου μὴ στρατεῦεσθαι ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα, καὶ 5 Σμερδομένης ὁ Ὀτάνεω (Δαρείου ἀμφότεροι οὗτοι ἀδελφεῶν παῖδες, Ξέρξῃ δὲ ἐγίνοντο ἀνεψιοὶ) καὶ Μασίστης ὁ Δαρείου τε καὶ Ἀτόσσης παῖς, καὶ Γέργις ὁ Ἀρίζου, καὶ Μεγάβυζος ὁ Ζωπύρου.

83 Οὗτοι ἦσαν στρατηγοὶ τοῦ σύμπαντος στρατοῦ πεζοῦ, χωρὶς τῶν μυρίων. τῶν δὲ μυρίων τούτων Περσέων τῶν ἀπολελεγμένων ἐστρατήγεε μὲν Ὑδάρνης ὁ Ὑδάρνεος. ἐκαλέοντο δὲ Ἀθάνατοι οἱ Πέρσαι οὗτοι ἐπὶ τοῦδε· εἴ τις 5 αὐτῶν ἐξέλιπε τὸν ἀριθμὸν, ἢ θανάτῳ βιηθεὶς ἢ νόσῳ, ἄλλος ἀνὴρ ἀραίρητο· καὶ ἐγίνοντο οὐ-

Names of the  
Generals.

The 'Immortal' corps.

δαμὰ οὔτε πλεῦνες μυρίων οὔτε ἐλάσσονες. Κόσ-  
 μον δὲ πλείστον παρείχοντο διὰ πάντων Πέρσαι,  
 10 καὶ αὐτοὶ ἄριστοι ἦσαν. σκευὴν μὲν τοιαύτην  
 εἶχον, ἥπερ εἴρηται· χωρὶς δὲ χρυσόν τε πολλόν  
 καὶ ἄφθονον ἔχοντες ἐνέπρεπον. ἄρμαμάξας τε  
 ἅμα ἤγοντο, ἐν δὲ παλλακὰς καὶ θεραπηϊὴν πολ-  
 λὴν τε καὶ εὖ ἐσκευασμένην. σῖτα δὲ σφι, χωρὶς  
 15 τῶν ἄλλων στρατιωτέων, κάμηλοί τε καὶ ὑποζύγια  
 ἦγον.

Ἰππεύει δὲ ταῦτα τὰ ἔθνεα· πλὴν οὐ πάντα 84  
 παρείχετο ἵππον, ἀλλὰ τοσάδε μούνα. Πέρσαι  
 μὲν τὴν αὐτὴν ἐσκευασμένοι καὶ ὁ πεζὸς αὐτῶν·  
 πλὴν ἐπὶ τῇσι κεφαλῇσι εἶχον μετεξέτεροι αὐτῶν  
 5 καὶ χάλκεα καὶ σιδήρεα ἐξεληλαμένα ποιήματα.  
 Εἰσὶ δὲ τινες νομάδες ἄνθρωποι Σαγάρτιοι καλεό- 85  
 μνοι, ἔθνος μὲν Περσικὸν καὶ φωνῇ, σκευὴν δὲ  
 μεταξὺ ἔχουσι πεποιημένην τῆς τε Περσικῆς καὶ  
 τῆς Πακτυϊκῆς, οὐ παρείχοντο μὲν ἵππον ὀκτακισ-  
 5 χιλίην, ὅπλα δὲ οὐ νομίζουσι ἔχειν οὔτε χάλκεα  
 οὔτε σιδήρεα, ἔξω ἐγχειριδίων. χρέωνται δὲ σει-  
 ρῇσι πεπλεγμένῃσι ἐξ ἱμάντων· ταύτῃσι πίσυνοι  
 ἔρχονται ἐς πόλεμον. ἡ δὲ μάχη τούτων τῶν  
 ἀνδρῶν ἦδε· ἐπεὰν συμμίσγωσι τοῖσι πολεμίοισι,  
 10 βάλλουσι τὰς σειράς, ἐπ' ἄκρῳ βρόχους ἐχούσας.  
 ὅτευ δ' ἂν τύχη, ἣν τε ἵππου ἣν τε ἀνθρώπου,  
 ἐπ' ἐωυτὸν ἔλκει· οἱ δὲ ἐν ἔρκεσι ἐμπαλασσόμενοι  
 διαφθείρονται. τούτων μὲν αὕτη ἡ μάχη, καὶ  
 ἐπετετάχατο ἐς τοὺς Πέρσας. Μῆδοι δὲ τὴν περ 86  
 ἐν τῷ πεζῷ εἶχον σκευὴν, καὶ Κίσσιοι ὡσαύτως.  
 Ἰνδοὶ δὲ σκευὴ μὲν ἐσεσάχατο τῇ αὐτῇ καὶ ἐν τῷ

πεζῶ, ἤλαυνον δὲ κέλητας καὶ ἄρματα, ὑπὸ δὲ τοῖσι ἄρμασι ὑπῆσαν ἵπποι καὶ ὄνοι ἄγριοι. Βάκ- 5 τριοι δὲ ἐσκενάδατο ὡσαύτως καὶ ἐν τῷ πεζῷ, καὶ Κάσπιοι ὁμοίως. Λίβυες δὲ καὶ αὐτοὶ κατὰ περ ἐν τῷ πεζῷ· ἤλαυνον δὲ καὶ οὗτοι πάντες ἄρματα. ὥς δ' αὐτως Κάσπειροι καὶ Παρικάνιοι ἐσεσάχατο ὁμοίως καὶ ἐν τῷ πεζῷ· Ἀράβιοι δὲ σκευὴν μὲν 10 εἶχον τὴν αὐτὴν καὶ ἐν τῷ πεζῷ· ἤλαυνον δὲ πάντες καμήλους, ταχυτήτα οὐ λειπομένας ἵππων.

87 Ταῦτα τὰ ἔθνεα μούνα ἵππευε. ἀριθμὸς δὲ τῆς ἵππου ἐγένετο ὀκτὼ μυριάδες, παρέξ τῶν καμήλων καὶ τῶν ἀρμάτων. Οἱ μὲν νυν ἄλλοι ἱππέες ἐτετάχατο κατὰ τέλεα, Ἀράβιοι δὲ ἔσχατοι ἐπετε- 5 τάχατο. ἅτε γὰρ τῶν ἵππων οὔτι ἀνεχομένων τὰς 5 καμήλους ὕστεροι ἐτετάχατο, ἵνα μὴ φοβέοιτο τὸ 88 ἱππικόν. Ἴππαρχοι δὲ ἦσαν Ἀρμαμίθρης τε καὶ Τίθαιος, Δάτιος παῖδες. ὁ δὲ τρίτος σφι συνίπ- παρχος Φαρνούχης καταλέλειπτο ἐν Σάρδισι νοσέων. ὥς γὰρ ὠρμέοντο ἐκ Σαρδίων, ἐπὶ συμ- 5 φορὴν ἐνέπεσε ἀνεθέλητον. ἐλαύνοντι γὰρ οἱ ὑπὸ 5 τοὺς πόδας τοῦ ἵππου ὑπέδραμε κύων· καὶ ὁ ἵππος, οὐ προῖδὼν, ἐφοβήθη τε καὶ στὰς ὀρθὸς ἀπεσεί- σατο τὸν Φαρνούχεια. πεσὼν δὲ αἱμὰ τε ἡμεε, καὶ ἐς φθίσιν περιῆλθε ἡ νοῦσος. τὸν δὲ ἵππον αὐτίκα κατ' ἀρχὰς ἐποίησαν οἱ οἰκέται, ὥς ἐκέ- 10 λευε· ἐς τὸν χῶρον, ἐν τῷ περ κατέβαλε τὸν δεσπότεα, ἀπαγαγόντες, ἐν τοῖσι γούνασι ἀπέ- ταμον τὰ σκέλεα. Φαρνούχης μὲν οὕτω παρε- λύθη τῆς ἡγεμονίης.

89 Τῶν δὲ τριηρέων ἀριθμὸς μὲν ἐγένετο ἑπτὰ

καὶ διηκόσiai καὶ χίλιαι· παρείχοντο δὲ αὐτάς  
οἶδε· Φοῖνικες μὲν σὺν Συρίοισι τοῖσι ἐν  
τῇ Παλαιστίνῃ τριηκοσίας, ὧδε ἔσκευ- The Fleet;  
Egyptians  
and Phoeni-  
cians.  
5 ασμένοι· περὶ μὲν τῇσι κεφαλῇσι κυνέας  
εἶχον ἀγχοτάτω πεπονημένας τρόπον τὸν Ἑλλη-  
νικόν, ἐνδεδυκότες δὲ θώρηκας λινέους, ἀσπίδας δὲ  
ἔτυς οὐκ ἔχούσας εἶχον, καὶ ἀκόντια. οὗτοι δὲ  
οἱ Φοῖνικες τὸ παλαιὸν οἴκεον, ὥς αὐτοὶ λέγουσι,  
10 ἐπὶ τῇ Ἐρυθρῇ θαλάσῃ, ἐνθεύτεν δὲ ὑπερβάντες  
τῆς Συρίας οἰκέουσι τὰ παρὰ θάλασσαν. τῆς δὲ  
Συρίας τοῦτο τὸ χωρίον καὶ τὸ μέχρι Αἰγύπτου  
πᾶν Παλαιστίνῃ καλεῖται. Αἰγύπτιοι δὲ νέας  
παρείχοντο διηκοσίας. οὗτοι δὲ εἶχον περὶ μὲν  
15 τῇσι κεφαλῇσι κράνεα χηλευτὰ, ἀσπίδας δὲ κοίλας,  
τὰς ἔτυς μεγάλας ἔχούσας, καὶ δόρατά τε ναῦμαχα  
καὶ τύκους μεγάλους. τὸ δὲ πλῆθος αὐτῶν θωρη-  
κοφόροι ἦσαν, μαχαίρας δὲ μεγάλας εἶχον. οὗτοι  
μὲν οὕτω ἑστάλατο. Κύπριοι δὲ παρείχοντο νέας 90  
πεντήκοντα καὶ ἑκατὸν, ἑσκευασμένοι Cyprians  
ὧδε· τὰς μὲν κεφαλὰς εἰλίχατο μίτρησι οἱ βασι-  
λέες αὐτῶν, οἱ δὲ ἄλλοι εἶχον κιθῶνας, τὰ δὲ ἄλλα  
5 κατὰ περ Ἑλλήνες. Τούτων δὲ τοσάδε ἔθνεά  
ἐστι· οἱ μὲν ἀπὸ Σαλαμῖνος καὶ Ἀθηνέων, οἱ δὲ  
ἀπὸ Ἀρκαδίας, οἱ δὲ ἀπὸ Κύθνου, οἱ δὲ ἀπὸ  
Φοινίκης, οἱ δὲ ἀπὸ Αἰθιοπίας, ὥς αὐτοὶ Κύπριοι  
λέγουσι. Κίλικες δὲ ἑκατὸν παρείχοντο νέας. 91  
οὗτοι δ' αὖ περὶ μὲν τῇσι κεφαλῇσι Cilicians and  
Pamphylians  
κράνεα ἐπιχώρια, λαισηΐά τε εἶχον ἀντ'  
ἀσπίδων, ὠμοβοέης πεπονημένα, καὶ κιθῶνας εἰρι-  
5 νέους ἐνδεδυκότες· δύο δὲ ἀκόντια ἕκαστος καὶ



- ξίφος εἶχον, ἀγχοτάτω τῇσι Αἰγυπτίησι μαχαίρησι πεποιημένα. Οὗτοι μὲν τὸ παλαιὸν Ὑπαχαιοὶ ἐκαλέοντο, ἐπὶ δὲ Κίλικος τοῦ Ἀγήνορος, ἀνδρὸς Φοίνικος, ἔσχον τὴν ἐπωνυμίην. Πάμφυλοι δὲ τριήκοντα παρείχοντο νέας, Ἑλληνικοῖσι ὅπλοισι ἐσκευασμένοι. οἱ δὲ Πάμφυλοι οὗτοι εἰσὶ τῶν ἐκ Τροίης ἀποσκεδασθέντων ἅμα
- 92 Ἀμφιλόχῳ καὶ Κάλχαντι. Λύκιοι δὲ παρείχοντο  
 Lycians νέας πεντήκοντα, θωρηκοφόροι τε ἔοντες καὶ κνημιδοφόροι. εἶχον δὲ τόξα κρανέϊνα καὶ οἷστους καλαμίλους ἀπτέρους καὶ ἀκόντια, ἐπὶ δὲ αἰγὸς δέρματα περὶ τοὺς ὦμους αἰωρεύμενα, περὶ 5 δὲ τῇσι κεφαλῇσι πῖλους πτεροῖσι περιεστεφανωμένους· ἐγχειρίδια δὲ καὶ δρέπανα εἶχον. Λύκιοι δὲ Τερμίλαι ἐκαλέοντο, ἐκ Κρήτης γεγονότες· ἐπὶ δὲ Λύκου τοῦ Πανδίωνος, ἀνδρὸς Ἀθηναίου, ἔσχον
- 93 τὴν ἐπωνυμίην. Δωριέες δὲ, οἱ ἐκ τῆς Ἀσίης,  
 Dorians τριήκοντα παρείχοντο νέας, ἔχοντές τε Ἑλληνικὰ ὅπλα, καὶ γεγονότες ἀπὸ Πελοποννήσου. Κᾶρες δὲ ἑβδομήκοντα παρείχοντο νέας, τὰ μὲν ἄλλα κατὰ περὶ Ἑλληνες ἐσταλμένοι· εἶχον 5 δὲ καὶ δρέπανα καὶ ἐγχειρίδια. οὗτοι δὲ οὔτινες πρότερον ἐκαλέοντο, ἐν τοῖσι πρῶτοισι τῶν λόγων
- 94 ἰόνται. Ἰῶνες δὲ ἑκατὸν νέας παρείχοντο, ἐσκευασμένοι ὥς Ἑλληνες. Ἰῶνες δὲ, ὅσον μὲν χρόνον ἐν Πελοποννήσῳ οἴκεον τὴν νῦν καλεομένην Ἀχαιΐην, καὶ πρὶν ἢ Δανάον τε καὶ Ἰφιδάμαν ἀπικέσθαι ἐς Πελοπόννησον, ὥς Ἑλληνες 5 λέγουσι, ἐκαλέοντο Πελασγοὶ Αἰγιαλέες, ἐπὶ δὲ
- 95 Ἰωνος τοῦ Ξούθου Ἰῶνες. Νησιῶται δὲ ἑπτα-

καίδεκα παρείχοντο νέας, ὥπλισμένοι ὡς Ἕλληνες.  
καὶ τοῦτο Πελασγικὸν ἔθνος, ὕστερον Islanders,  
Aeolians,  
Hellespon-  
tians.  
δὲ Ἰωνικὸν ἐκλήθη κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν  
5 λόγον καὶ οἱ δυωδεκαπόλεις Ἴωνες οἱ  
ἀπ' Ἀθηνέων. Αἰολέες δὲ ἐξήκοντα νέας παρεί-  
χοντο, ἐσκευασμένοι τε ὡς Ἕλληνες, καὶ τὸ πάλαι  
καλεόμενοι Πελασγοί, ὡς Ἑλλήνων λόγος. Ἑλ-  
λησπόντιοι δὲ πλὴν Ἀβυδηνῶν (Ἀβυδηνοῖσι γὰρ  
10 προσετέτακτο ἐκ βασιλέος, κατὰ χώραν μένουσι,  
φύλακας εἶναι τῶν γεφυρέων), οἱ δὲ λοιποὶ ἐκ τοῦ  
Πόντου στρατευόμενοι παρείχοντο μὲν ἑκατὸν  
νέας, ἐσκευασμένοι δὲ ἦσαν ὡς Ἕλληνες· οὗτοι  
δὲ Ἰώνων καὶ Δωριέων ἀποικοί.

Ἐπεβάτεον δὲ ἐπὶ πασέων τῶν νεῶν Πέρσαι 96  
καὶ Μῆδοι καὶ Σάκαι. τούτων δὲ ἄριστα Inferior  
officers.  
πλεούσας παρείχοντο νέας Φοίνικες, καὶ  
Φοινίκων Σιδώνιοι. Τούτοισι πᾶσι καὶ τοῖσι ἐς  
5 τὸν πεζὸν τεταγμένοισι αὐτῶν ἐπῆσαν ἐκάστοισι  
ἐπιχώριοι ἡγεμόνες, τῶν ἐγὼ, οὐ γὰρ ἀναγκαίῃ  
ἐξέργομαι ἐς ἱστορίας λόγον, οὐ παραμέμνημαι.  
οὔτε γὰρ ἔθνεος ἐκάστου ἐπ' ἀξιοὶ ἦσαν οἱ ἡγεμόνες,  
ἐν τε ἔθνει ἐκάστῳ ὅσαι περ πόλεις, τοσοῦτοι καὶ  
10 ἡγεμόνες ἦσαν. εἶποντο δὲ ὡς οὐ στρατηγοί, ἀλλ'  
ὥσπερ οἱ ἄλλοι στρατευόμενοι δοῦλοι. ἐπεὶ στρα-  
τηγοί τε οἱ τὸ πᾶν ἔχοντες κράτος καὶ ἄρχοντες  
τῶν ἐθνέων ἐκάστων, ὅσοι αὐτῶν ἦσαν Πέρσαι,  
εἰρέαται μοι. Τοῦ δὲ ναυτικοῦ ἐστρατήγεον οἶδε· 97  
Ἀριαβίγνης τε ὁ Δαρείου, καὶ Πρη- Commanders  
of the fleet.  
ξάσπης ὁ Ἀσπαθλίνεω, καὶ Μεγάβαζος ὁ  
Μεγαβάτεω, καὶ Ἀχαιμένης ὁ Δαρείου. τῆς μὲν

- Ἰάδος τε καὶ Καρικῆς στρατιῆς Ἀριαβίγνης, ὁ 5  
 Δαρείου τε παῖς καὶ τῆς Γωβρύεω θυγατρὸς,  
 Αἰγυπτίων δὲ ἐστρατήγεε Ἀχαιμένης, Ξέρξεω ἐὼν  
 ἀπ' ἀμφοτέρων ἀδελφεὸς, τῆς δὲ ἄλλης στρατιῆς  
 ἐστρατήγεον οἱ δύο. τριηκόντεροι δὲ καὶ πεντη-  
 κόντεροι καὶ κέρκουροι καὶ ἵππαγωγὰ πλοῖα 10  
 μακρὰ συνελθόντα ἐς τὸν ἀριθμὸν ἐφάνη τρις-  
 98 χίλια. Τῶν δὲ ἐπιπλεόντων μετὰ γε τοὺς στρα-  
Tributary  
potentates. τηγούς οἶδε ἦσαν οἱ οὐνομαστότατοι·  
 Σιδώνιος Τετράμνηστος Ἀνύσου, καὶ Τύ-  
 ριος Μάπην Σιρώμου, καὶ Ἀράδιος Μέρβαλος  
 Ἀγβάλου, καὶ Κίλιξ Συέννεσις Ὀρομέδοντος καὶ 5  
 Λύκιος Κυβερνίσκος Σίκα· καὶ Κύπριοι Γόργος  
 τε ὁ Χέρσιος καὶ Τιμῶναξ ὁ Τιμαγόρεω· καὶ  
 Καρῶν Ἰστιαιὸς τε ὁ Τύμνεω, καὶ Πίγρης ὁ Σελ-  
 99 δώμου, καὶ Δαμασίθυμος ὁ Κανδαύλεω. Τῶν μὲν  
Special men-  
tion of Arte-  
misia. νυν ἄλλων οὐ παραμέμνημαι ταξιαρχέων,  
 ὥς οὐκ ἀναγκαζόμενος, Ἀρτεμισίης δὲ,  
 τῆς μάλιστα θωῦμα ποιεῦμαι ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα  
 στρατευσάμενης, γυναικὸς, ἥτις, ἀποθανόντος τοῦ 5  
 ἀνδρὸς, αὐτὴ τε ἔχουσα τὴν τυραννίδα, καὶ παιδὸς  
 ὑπάρχοντος νεηνίεω, ὑπὸ λήματός τε καὶ ἀνδρηΐης  
 ἐστρατεύετο, οὐδεμιῆς ἐούσης οἱ ἀναγκαίης. οὐ-  
 νομα μὲν δὴ ἦν αὐτῇ Ἀρτεμισίη, θυγάτηρ δὲ ἦν  
 Λυγδάμιος, γένος δὲ ἐξ Ἀλικαρνησσοῦ τὰ πρὸς 10  
 πατρὸς, τὰ μητρόθεν δὲ Κρήσα. ἡγεμόνευε δὲ  
 Ἀλικαρνησσέων τε καὶ Κώων καὶ Νισυρίων τε  
 καὶ Καλυδνίων, πέντε νέας παρέχομένη. καὶ συνα-  
 πάσης τῆς στρατιῆς, μετὰ γε τὰς Σιδωνίων, νέας  
 εὐδοξοτάτας παρείχετο, πάντων τε τῶν συμμάχων 15

γνώμας ἀρίστας βασιλεῖ ἀπεδέξατο. τῶν δὲ κατέ-  
 λεξα πολλίων ἡγεμονεύειν αὐτὴν, τὸ ἔθνος ἀπο-  
 φαίνω πᾶν ἐὼν Δωρικόν, Ἀλικαρνησσίας μὲν Τροι-  
 ζηνίους, τοὺς δὲ ἄλλους Ἐπιδαυρίους. Ἐς μὲν  
 20 τοσόνδε ὁ ναυτικὸς στρατὸς εἴρηται.

Ξέρξης δὲ, ἐπεὶ ἡριθμήθη τε καὶ διετάχθη ὁ 100  
 στρατὸς, ἐπεθύμησε αὐτὸς σφεας διεξε- Xerxes sur-  
veys the  
 λάσας θεήσασθαι. μετὰ δὲ ἐποίεε ταῦτα, forces.  
 καὶ διεξελαύνων ἐπὶ ἄρματος παρὰ ἔθνος ἐν ἑκα-  
 5 στον ἐπυνθάνετο· καὶ ἀπέγραφον οἱ γραμμα-  
 τισταὶ, ἕως ἐξ ἐσχάτων ἐς ἔσχατα ἀπίκετο καὶ  
 τῆς ἵππου καὶ τοῦ πεζοῦ. ὥς δὲ ταῦτά οἱ ἐπε-  
 ποίητο, τῶν νεῶν κατελκυσθεισέων ἐς θάλασσαν,  
 ἐνθαῦτα ὁ Ξέρξης μετεκβὰς ἐκ τοῦ ἄρματος ἐς νέα  
 10 Σιδωνίην ἵζετο ὑπὸ σκηνῇ χρυσῇ, καὶ παρέπλεε  
 παρὰ τὰς πρῶρας τῶν νεῶν, ἐπειρωτῶν τε ἐκάστας  
 ὁμοίως καὶ τὸν πεζὺν, καὶ ἀπογραφόμενος. τὰς δὲ  
 νέας οἱ ναύαρχοι ἀναγαγόντες ὅσον τε τέσσερα  
 πλέθρα ἀπὸ τοῦ αἰγιαλοῦ ἀνεκώχευον, τὰς πρῶρας  
 15 ἐς γῆν τρέψαντες πάντες μετωπηδὸν καὶ ἐξο-  
 πλίσαντες τοὺς ἐπιβάτας ὥς ἐς πόλεμον. ὁ δ'  
 ἐντὸς τῶν πρωρέων πλέων ἐθηεῖτο καὶ τοῦ αἰ-  
 γιαλοῦ.

Ὡς δὲ καὶ ταύτας διεξέπλωσε καὶ ἐξέβη ἐκ 101  
 τῆς νεὸς, μετεπέμψατο Δημάρητον τὸν He questions  
Demaratus.  
 Ἀρίστωνος συστρατευόμενον αὐτῷ ἐπὶ  
 τὴν Ἑλλάδα· καλέσας δ' αὐτὸν εἶρετο τάδε·  
 5 Δημάρητε, νῦν μοί σε ἡδύ τι ἐστὶ ἐπείρεσθαι τὰ  
 θέλω. σὺ εἰς Ἑλλην τε καὶ, ὥς ἐγὼ πυνθάνομαι  
 σεῦ τε καὶ τῶν ἄλλων Ἑλλήνων τῶν ἐμοὶ ἐς



λόγους ἀπικομένων, πόλιος οὐτ' ἐλαχίστης οὐτ'  
 ἀσθενεστάτης. νῦν ὦν μοι τόδε φράσον, εἰ "Ελ-  
 ληνες ὑπομενέουσιν χεῖρας ἐμοὶ ἀνταειρόμενοι. οὐ 10  
 γάρ, ὡς ἐγὼ δοκέω, οὐδ' εἰ πάντες "Ελληνες καὶ οἱ  
 λοιποὶ οἱ πρὸς ἐσπέρης οἰκέοντες ἄνθρωποι συλ-  
 λεχθείησαν, οὐκ ἀξιόμαχοί εἰσι ἐμὲ ἐπιόντα ὑπο-  
 μείναι, μὴ ἐόντες ἄρθμιοι. ἐθέλω μέντοι καὶ τὸ  
 ἀπὸ σεῦ, ὁκοῖόν τι λέγεις περὶ αὐτῶν, πυθέσθαι. 15  
 'Ο μὲν ταῦτα εἰρώτα. ὁ δὲ ὑπολαβὼν ἔφη· "Ω  
 βασιλεῦ, κότερα ἀληθείῃ χρήσομαι πρὸς σὲ ἢ  
 ἡδονῇ; 'Ο δὲ μιν ἀληθείῃ χρήσασθαι ἐκέλευε,  
 φὰς οὐδέν οἱ ἀηδέστερον ἔσεσθαι ἢ πρότερον ἦν.  
 102 'Ως δὲ ταῦτα ἤκουσε Δημάρητος, ἔλεγε τάδε· "Ω  
 βασιλεῦ, ἐπειδὴ ἀληθείῃ διαχρήσασθαι  
 πάντως με κελεύεις, ταῦτα λέγοντα, τὰ  
 μὴ ψευδόμενός τις ὕστερον ὑπὸ σεῦ  
 ἀλώσεται· τῇ 'Ελλάδι πενίῃ μὲν αἰεὶ κοτε σύν- 5  
 τροφός ἐστι, ἀρετὴ δὲ ἔπακτός ἐστι, ἀπὸ τε σοφίης  
 κατεργασμένη καὶ νόμου ἰσχυροῦ, τῇ διαχρεομένη  
 ἢ 'Ελλὰς τήν τε πενίην ἀπαμύνεται καὶ τὴν  
 δεσποσύνην. αἰνέω μὲν νυν πάντας "Ελληνας τοὺς  
 περὶ ἐκείνους τοὺς Δωρικοὺς χώρους οἰκημένους· 10  
 ἔρχομαι δὲ λέξων οὐ περὶ πάντων τούσδε τοὺς  
 λόγους, ἀλλὰ περὶ Λακεδαιμονίων μούνων· πρῶτα  
 μὲν, ὅτι οὐκ ἔστι ὅπως κοτὲ σοὺς δέξονται λόγους  
 δουλοσύνην φέροντας τῇ 'Ελλάδι· αὐτὶς δὲ, ὡς  
 ἀντιώσονται τοι ἐς μάχην, καὶ ἦν οἱ ἄλλοι "Ελ- 15  
 ληνες πάντες τὰ σὰ φρονέωσι. ἀριθμοῦ δὲ πέρι,  
 μὴ πύθῃ, ὅσοι τινὲς ἐόντες ταῦτα ποιεῖν οἰοί τ' ἐ-  
 ἴσι· ἦν τε γὰρ τύχῳσι ἐξεστρατευμένοι χίλιοι,

Reply of  
 Demaratus;  
 valour of the  
 Spartans.

οὔτοι μαχέσονταιί τοι, ἦν τε ἐλάσσονες τούτων, ἦν  
 τε καὶ πλεῦνες. Ταῦτα ἀκούσας Ξέρξης <sup>Incredulity  
of Xerxes.</sup> 103  
 γελάσας ἔφη· Δημάρητε, οἷον ἐφθέγγξαι  
 ἔπος, ἄνδρας χιλίους στρατιῇ τοσῆδε μαχέσασθαι.  
 ἄγε, εἰπέ μοι, σὺ φῆς τούτων τῶν ἀνδρῶν αὐτὸς  
 5 βασιλεὺς γενέσθαι; σὺ ὦν ἐθελήσεις αὐτίκα μάλα  
 πρὸς ἄνδρας δέκα μάχεσθαι; καὶ τοι εἰ τὸ πολι-  
 τικὸν ὑμῖν πᾶν ἐστὶ τοιοῦτον, οἷον σὺ διαιρέεις, σέ  
 γε τὸν ἐκείνων βασιλέα πρέπει πρὸς τὸ διπλήσιον  
 ἀντιτάσσεσθαι κατὰ νόμους τοὺς ὑμετέρους. εἰ  
 10 γὰρ ἐκείνων ἕκαστος δέκα ἀνδρῶν τῆς στρατιῆς  
 τῆς ἐμῆς ἀντάξιός ἐστι, σέ δέ γε δίζημαι εἴκοσι  
 εἶναι ἀντάξιον· καὶ οὕτω μὲν ὀρθοῖτ' ἂν ὁ λόγος ὁ  
 παρὰ σεῦ εἰρημένος. εἰ δὲ τοιοῦτοί τε ἔοντες καὶ  
 15 μεγάθρα τοσοῦτοι, οἷος σὺ τε καὶ οὐ παρ' ἐμέ  
 φοιτῶσι Ἑλλήνων ἐς λόγους, αὐχεῖτε τοσοῦτον,  
 ὅρα μὴ μάτην κόμπος ὁ λόγος οὗτος εἰρημένος εἶη.  
 Ἐπεὶ φέρε ἴδω παντὶ τῷ οἰκότι. κῶς ἂν δυναίαιτο  
 χίλιοι ἢ καὶ μύριοι ἢ καὶ πεντακισμύριοι, ἔοντες  
 γε ἐλεύθεροι πάντες ὁμοίως καὶ μὴ ὑπ' ἐνὸς ἄρ-  
 20 χόμενοι, στρατῷ τοσῶδε ἀντιστῆναι; ἐπεὶ τοι  
 πλεῦνες περὶ ἓνα ἕκαστον γινόμεθα ἢ χίλιοι,  
 ἔόντων ἐκείνων πέντε χιλιάδων. ὑπὸ μὲν γὰρ ἐνὸς  
 ἀρχόμενοι κατὰ τρόπον τὸν ἡμέτερον γενοίαιτ' ἂν  
 δειμαίνοντες τοῦτον, καὶ παρὰ τὴν ἐωυτῶν φύσιν  
 25 ἀμείνονες, καὶ ἴοιεν ἀναγκαζόμενοι μάλιστα ἐς  
 πλεῦνας ἐλάσσονες ἔοντες· ἀνειμένοι δὲ ἐς τὸ  
 ἐλεύθερον οὐκ ἂν ποιοῖεν τούτων οὐδέτερα. Δοκέω  
 δὲ ἔγωγε καὶ ἀνισωθέντας πλήθει, χαλεπῶς ἂν  
 Ἑλληνας Πέρσησι μούνοισι μάχεσθαι. ἀλλὰ

παρ' ἡμῖν τοῦτό ἐστι, τὸ σὺ λέγεις, ἔστι γε μέντοι 30  
οὐ πολλόν, ἀλλὰ σπάνιον. εἰσὶ γὰρ Περσέων  
τῶν ἐμῶν αἰχμοφόρων, οἳ ἐθελήσουσι Ἑλλήνων  
ἀνδράσι τρισὶ ὁμοῦ μάχεσθαι· τῶν σὺ ἐὼν ἄπει-  
104 ρος, πολλὰ φλυηρέεις. Πρὸς ταῦτα Δημάρητος  
Demaratus  
reiterates his  
assertion. λέγει· ὦ βασιλεῦ, ἀρχήθεν ἠπιστάμην,  
ὅτι ἀληθείῃ χρεόμενος οὐ φίλα τοι ἐρέω.  
σὺ δὲ ἐπεὶ ἠνάγκασας λέγειν τῶν λόγων τοὺς  
ἀληθεστάτους, ἔλεγον τὰ κατήκοντα Σπαρτιήτησι. 5  
καίτοι, ὥς ἐγὼ τυγχάνω τὰ νῦν τάδε ἐστοργῶς  
ἐκείνους, αὐτὸς μάλιστα ἐξεπίστεται, οἳ με τιμὴν τε  
καὶ γέρεα ἀπελόμενοι πατρώϊα ἄπολιν τε καὶ  
φυγάδα πεποιήκασιν· πατὴρ δὲ σὸς ὑποδεξάμενος  
βίον τέ μοι καὶ οἶκον δέδωκε. οὐκὼν οἶκός ἐστι 10  
ἄνδρα τὸν σῶφρονα εὐνοίην φαινομένην διωθέ-  
εσθαι, ἀλλὰ στέργειν μάλιστα. Ἐγὼ δὲ οὔτε  
δέκα ἀνδράσι ὑπίσχομαι οἷός τε εἶναι μάχεσθαι  
οὔτε δυοῖσι, ἐκὼν τε εἶναι οὐδ' ἂν μονομαχέοιμι.  
εἰ δὲ ἀναγκαίῃ εἴη ἢ μέγας τις ὁ ἐποτρύνων ἀγὼν, 15  
μαχοίμην ἂν πάντων ἥδιστα ἐνὶ τούτων τῶν  
ἀνδρῶν, οἳ Ἑλλήνων ἕκαστός φησι τριῶν ἄξιος  
εἶναι. ὥς δὲ καὶ Λακεδαιμόνιοι, κατὰ μὲν ἓνα  
μαχόμενοι, οὐδαμῶν εἰσὶ κακίονες ἀνδρῶν· ἀλέες  
δὲ, ἄριστοι ἀνδρῶν ἀπάντων. Ἐλεύθεροι γὰρ 20  
ἐόντες οὐ πάντα ἐλεύθεροί εἰσι· ἔπεστι γὰρ σφι  
δεσπότης νόμος, τὸν ὑποδειμαίνουσι πολλῷ ἔτι  
μᾶλλον, ἢ οἳ σοὶ σέ. ποιεῦσι γῶν, τὰ ἂν ἐκεῖνος  
ἀνώγη· ἀνώγει δὲ τῶντ' αἰεὶ, οὐκ ἐὼν φεύγειν  
οὐδὲν πλῆθος ἀνθρώπων ἐκ μάχης, ἀλλὰ μένοντας 25  
ἐν τῇ τάξει ἐπικρατέειν ἢ ἀπόλλυσθαι. σοὶ δὲ εἰ

φαίνομαι ταῦτα λέγων φλυηρέειν, τᾶλλα σιγᾶν  
ἐθέλω τὸ λοιπόν· νῦν δὲ ἀναγκασθεὶς ἔλεξα·  
γένοιτο μέντοι κατὰ νόον τοι, βασιλεῦ.

Ὁ μὲν δὴ ταῦτα ἀμείψατο· Ξέρξης δὲ ἐς 105  
γέλωτά τε ἔτρεψε καὶ οὐκ ἐποίησατο. Appointment of Mascames.  
ὀργὴν οὐδεμίαν, ἀλλ' ἡπίως αὐτὸν ἀπε-  
πέμψατο. τούτῳ δὲ ἐς λόγους ἐλθὼν Ξέρξης καὶ  
5 ὑπαρχον ἐν τῷ Δορίσκῳ τούτῳ καταστήσας Μασ-  
κάμην τὸν Μεγαδόστω, τὸν δὲ ὑπὸ Δαρείου στα-  
θέντα καταπαύσας, ἐξήλαυνε τὸν στρατὸν διὰ τῆς  
Θρηϊκῆς ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα. Κατέλιπε δὲ ἄνδρα 106  
τοιούνδε Μασκάμην γενόμενον, τῷ μούνῳ Honours paid to him.  
Ξέρξης δῶρα πέμπεσκε, ὡς ἀριστεύοντι  
πάντων, ὅσους κατέστησε αὐτὸς ἢ Δαρεῖος ὑπάρ-  
5 χους· πέμπεσκε δὲ ἀνὰ πᾶν ἔτος· ὥς δὲ καὶ  
Ἀρταξέρξης ὁ Ξέρξεω τοῖσι Μασκαμείοισι ἐκ-  
γόνοισι. Κατέστασαν γὰρ ἔτι πρότερον ταύτης  
τῆς ἐλάσιος ὑπαρχοὶ ἐν τῇ Θρηϊκῇ καὶ τοῦ Ἑλ-  
λησπόντου πανταχῇ. οὗτοι ὦν πάντες οἳ τε ἐκ  
10 Θρηϊκῆς καὶ τοῦ Ἑλλησπόντου, πλὴν τοῦ ἐν  
Δορίσκῳ, ὑπὸ Ἑλλήνων ὕστερον ταύτης τῆς  
στρατηλασίης ἐξηρέθησαν· τὸν δὲ ἐν Δορίσκῳ  
Μασκάμην οὐδαμοί κω ἐδυνάσθησαν ἐξελεῖν, πολ-  
λῶν πειρησαμένων. διὰ τοῦτο δέ οἱ τὰ δῶρα  
15 πέμπεται παρὰ τοῦ βασιλεύοντος αἰεὶ ἐν Πέρ-  
σησι. Τῶν δὲ ἐξαιρεθέντων ὑπὸ Ἑλλήνων οὐδένα 107  
βασιλεὺς Ξέρξης ἐνόμιζε εἶναι ἄνδρα Fidelity of Boges.  
ἀγαθόν, εἰ μὴ Βόγην μούνον τὸν ἐξ  
Ἡϊόνος· τοῦτον δὲ αἰνέων οὐκ ἐπαύετο, καὶ τοὺς  
5 περιέοντας αὐτοῦ ἐν Πέρσησι παῖδας ἐτίμα μά-



λιστα, ἐπεὶ καὶ ἄξιος αἴνου μεγάλου ἐγένετο Βόγης, ὃς ἐπειδὴ ἐπολιορκέετο ὑπὸ Ἀθηναίων καὶ Κίμωνος τοῦ Μιλτιάδεω, παρεὼν αὐτῷ ὑπόσπονδον ἐξελθεῖν καὶ νοστήσαι ἐς τὴν Ἀσίην, οὐκ ἐθέλησε, μὴ δειλίῃ δόξειε περιεῖναι βασιλεῖ, ἀλλὰ 10 διεκαρτέρεε ἐς τὸ ἔσχατον. ὥς δ' οὐδὲν ἔτι φορβῆς ἐνῆν ἐν τῷ τείχεϊ, συννήσας πυρὴν μεγάλην, ἔσφαξε τὰ τέκνα καὶ τὴν γυναῖκα καὶ τὰς παλλακάς καὶ τοὺς οἰκέτας, καὶ ἔπειτα ἐσέβαλε ἐς τὸ πῦρ. μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα τὸν χρυσὸν ἅπαντα τὸν ἐκ 15 τοῦ ἄστεος καὶ τὸν ἄργυρον ἔσπειρε ἀπὸ τοῦ τείχεος ἐς τὸν Στρυμόνα· ποιήσας δὲ ταῦτα, ἐωυτὸν ἐπέβαλε ἐς τὸ πῦρ. οὕτω μὲν οὗτος δικαίως αἰνέεται ἔτι καὶ ἐς τόδε ὑπὸ Περσέων.

- 108 Departure  
from Doris-  
cus. Ξέρξης δὲ ἐκ τοῦ Δορίσκου ἐπορεύετο ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα· τοὺς δὲ αἰεὶ γινομένους ἐμ-  
ποδῶν συστρατεύεσθαι ἠνάγκαζε. ἐδε-  
δούλωτο γάρ, ὥς καὶ πρότερόν μοι δεδήλωται, ἢ 5  
μέχρι Θεσσαλίας πᾶσα, καὶ ἦν ὑπὸ βασιλέα δασ-  
μοφόρος, Μεγαβάζου τε καταστρεψαμένου καὶ  
ὑστερον Μαρδονίου. Παραμείβετο δὲ πορευόμενος  
ἐκ Δορίσκου πρῶτα μὲν τὰ Σαμοθρηϊκία τείχεα,  
τῶν ἐσχάτη πεπόλισται πρὸς ἐσπέρην πόλις, τῇ  
οὐνομά ἐστι Μεσαμβρίη· ἔχεται δὲ ταύτης Θα- 10  
σίων πόλις Στρυμή. διὰ δὲ σφῆων τοῦ μέσου  
Λίσσος ποταμὸς διαρρέει, ὃς τότε οὐκ ἀντέσχε τὸ  
ὔδωρ παρέχων τῷ Ξέρξει στρατῷ, ἀλλ' ἐπέλιπε.  
ἡ δὲ χώρα αὕτη πάλαι μὲν ἐκαλέετο Γαλλαϊκὴ,  
νῦν δὲ Βριαντικὴ, ἔστι μέντοι τῷ δικαιοτάτῳ τῶν 15  
109 λόγων καὶ αὕτη Κικόνων. Διαβὰς δὲ τοῦ Λίσσου

ποταμοῦ τὸ ρέεθρον ἀπεξηρασμένον, πόλις Ἑλ-  
ληνίδας τάσδε παραμείβετο, Μαρώνει-  
αν, Δίκαιαν, Ἀβδηρα. ταύτας τε δὴ March  
through  
Thrace.

- 5 παρεξήϊε, καὶ κατὰ ταύτας λίμνας οὐνομαστὰς  
τάσδε· Μαρωνείης μὲν μεταξὺ καὶ Στρυμῆς κειμέ-  
νην Ἰσμαρίδα· κατὰ δὲ Δίκαιαν Βιστονίδα, ἐς τὴν  
ποταμοὶ δύο ἐσεῖσι τὸ ὕδωρ, Τραυὸς τε καὶ Κόμ-  
ψατος· κατὰ δὲ Ἀβδηρα λίμνην μὲν οὐδεμίαν  
10 ἐοῦσαν οὐνομαστήν παραμείψατο Ξέρξης, ποτα-  
μὸν δὲ Νέστον ρέοντα ἐς θάλασσαν. Μετὰ δὲ  
ταύτας τὰς χώρας ἰὼν τὰς ἡπειρώτιδας πόλις  
παρήϊε, τῶν ἐν μιῇ λίμνῃ ἐοῦσα τυγχάνει ὥσεί  
τριήκοντα σταδίων μάλιστά κη τὴν περίοδον, ἰχ-  
15 θυνώδης τε καὶ κάρτα ἀλμυρὴ· ταύτην τὰ ὑπο-  
ζύγια μούνα ἀρδόμενα ἀνεξήρηνε. τῇ δὲ πόλι  
ταύτῃ οὐνομά ἐστι Πίστυρος. Ταύτας μὲν δὴ τὰς  
πόλις, τὰς παραθαλασσίας τε καὶ Ἑλληνίδας, ἐξ  
εὐωνύμου χειρὸς ἀπέργων παρεξήϊε. Ἔθνεα δὲ 110  
Θρηίκων, δι' ὧν τῆς χώρας ὁδὸν ἐποιέετο, Reinforce-  
ment of the  
host. τοσάδε· Παῖτοι, Κίκονες, Βίστονες, Σα-  
παῖοι, Δερσαῖοι, Ἡδωνοὶ, Σάτραι. τούτων οἱ μὲν  
5 παρὰ θάλασσαν κατοικημένοι ἐν τῇσι νηυσὶ εἴ-  
ποντο· οἱ δὲ αὐτῶν τὴν μεσόγαίαν οἰκέοντες, κατα-  
λεχθέντες τε ὑπ' ἐμεῦ, πλὴν Σατρέων, οἱ ἄλλοι  
πάντες περὶ ἀναγκαζόμενοι εἶποντο. Σάτραι δὲ 111  
οὐδενὸς κω ἀνθρώπων ὑπήκοοι ἐγένοντο, The Satri-  
ans; their  
oracle. ὅσον ἡμεῖς ἴδμεν, ἀλλὰ διατελεύσι τὸ  
μέχρι ἐμεῦ αἰεὶ ἔοντες ἐλεύθεροι, μούνοι Θρηίκων.  
5 οἰκέουσίν τε γὰρ οὔρεα ὑψηλὰ, ἴδυσί τε παντοίησι  
καὶ χιόνι συνηρεφέα, καὶ εἰσὶ τὰ πολέμια ἄκροι,

- οὔτοι, οἱ τοῦ Διονύσου τὸ μαντήϊόν εἰσι ἔκτη-  
 μένοι. τὸ δὲ μαντήϊον τοῦτο ἐστὶ μὲν ἐπὶ τῶν  
 οὐρέων τῶν ὑψηλοτάτων· Βησσοὶ δὲ τῶν Σατρέων  
 εἰσὶ οἱ προφητεύοντες τοῦ ἱεροῦ, πρόμαντις δὲ ἡ 10  
 χρέουσα, κατὰ περ ἐν Δελφοῖσι, καὶ οὐδὲν ποικι-  
 112 λώτερον. Παραμειψάμενος δὲ ὁ Ξέρξης τὴν εἰ-  
 ρημένην, δεύτερα τούτων παραμείβετο  
The mines of Mt Pan-  
gæum. τείχεα τὰ Πιέρων, τῶν καὶ ἐνὶ Φάγρης  
 ἐστὶ οὐνομα καὶ ἑτέρῳ Πέργαμος. ταύτῃ μὲν δὴ  
 παρ' αὐτὰ τὰ τείχεα τὴν ὁδὸν ἐποιέετο, ἐκ δεξιῆς 5  
 χειρὸς τὸ Πάγγαιον οὐρος ἀπέργων, ἐὼν μέγα τε  
 καὶ ὑψηλὸν, ἐν τῷ χρύσεά τε καὶ ἀργύρεα ἐνι  
 μέταλλα, τὰ νέμονται Πιέρές τε καὶ Ὀδόμαντοι  
 113 καὶ μάλιστα Σάτραι. Ὑπεροικέοντας δὲ τὸ Πάγ-  
 γαιον πρὸς βορέῳ ἀνέμου Παίονας, Δό-  
Paeonia :  
Magian rites. βηράς τε καὶ Παιόπλας παρεξιὼν ἥϊε  
 πρὸς ἐσπέρην, ἐς ὃ ἀπίκητο ἐπὶ ποταμόν τε Στρυ-  
 μόνα καὶ πόλιν Ἡϊόνα, τῆς ἔτι ζωὸς ἐὼν ἦρχε 5  
 Βόγης, τοῦ περ ὀλίγῳ πρότερον τούτων λόγον  
 ἐποιεύμην. ἡ δὲ γῆ αὕτη ἡ περὶ τὸ Πάγγαιον  
 οὐρος καλεῖται Φυλλίς, κατατείνουσα τὰ μὲν πρὸς  
 ἐσπέρην ἐπὶ ποταμόν Ἀγγίτην, ἐκδιδόντα ἐς τὸν  
 Στρυμόνα, τὰ δὲ πρὸς μεσαμβρίην τείνουσα ἐς 10  
 αὐτὸν τὸν Στρυμόνα, ἐς τὸν οἱ Μάγοι ἐκαλλι-  
 114 ρέοντο σφάζοντες ἵππους λευκοὺς. Φαρμακεύσαν-  
Passage of  
the Strymon. τες δὲ ταῦτα ἐς τὸν ποταμόν, καὶ ἄλλα  
 πολλὰ πρὸς τούτοις ἐν Ἐννέα Ὀδοῖσι  
 τῇσι Ἡδωνῶν, ἐπορεύοντο κατὰ τὰς γεφύρας, τὸν  
 Στρυμόνα εὐρόντες ἐξευγμένον. Ἐννέα δὲ Ὀδοὺς 5  
 πυνθανόμενοι τὸν χῶρον τοῦτον καλεῖσθαι, τοσ-

ούτους ἐν αὐτῷ παῖδάς τε καὶ παρθένους ἀνδρῶν  
 τῶν ἐπιχωρίων ζώντας κατῴρυσσον. Περσικὸν  
 δὲ τὸ ζώντας κατορύσσειν, ἐπεὶ καὶ Ἀμηστριν,  
 10 τὴν Ξέρξεω γυναῖκα, πυνθάνομαι γηράσασαν δις  
 ἑπτὰ Περσέων παῖδας ἔοντων ἐπιφανέων ἀνδρῶν  
 ὑπὲρ ἐωυτῆς τῷ ὑπὸ γῆν λεγομένῳ εἶναι θεῷ ἀντι-  
 χαρίζεσθαι κατορύσσουσιν.

Ὡς δὲ ἀπὸ τοῦ Στρυμόνος ἐπορεύετο ὁ στρα- 115  
 τὸς, ἐνθαῦτα πρὸς ἡλίου δυσμέων ἐστὶ Journey  
through Bi-  
saltia,  
 αἰγιαλὸς, ἐν τῷ οἰκημένην Ἀργίλον πό-  
 λιν Ἑλλάδα παρεξήϊε. αὕτη δὲ καὶ ἡ κατύπερθε  
 5 ταύτης καλέεται Βισαλτίη. ἐνθεῦτεν δὲ κόλπον  
 τὸν ἐπὶ Ποσειδηΐου ἐξ ἀριστερῆς χειρὸς ἔχων, ἥϊε  
 διὰ Συλέος πεδίου καλεομένου, Στάγειρον πόλιν  
 Ἑλλάδα παραμβιβόμενος, καὶ ἀπῖκετο εἰς Ἀκαν-  
 θον, ἅμα ἀγόμενος τούτων ἕκαστον τῶν ἐθνέων  
 10 καὶ τῶν περὶ τὸ Πάγγαιον οὖρος οἰκούντων, ὁμοίως  
 καὶ τῶν πρότερον κατέλεξα, τοὺς μὲν παρὰ θά-  
 λασσαν ἔχων οἰκημένους ἐν νηυσὶ στρατευομένους,  
 τοὺς δ' ὑπὲρ θαλάσσης πεζῇ ἐπομένους. τὴν δὲ  
 ὁδὸν ταύτην, τῇ βασιλεὺς Ξέρξης τὸν στρατὸν  
 15 ἤλασε, οὔτε συγχέουσι Θρηϊκὲς οὔτ' ἐπισπείρουσι,  
 σέβονται τε μεγάλως τὸ μέχρι ἐμεῦ. Ὡς δὲ ἄρα 116  
 εἰς τὴν Ἀκανθὸν ἀπῖκετο, ξεινίην τε ὁ  
 Πέρσης τοῖσι Ἀκανθίοισι προεῖπε, καὶ and Acan-  
thus.  
 ἐδωρήσαντό σφεας ἐσθήτι Μηδικῇ, ἐπαίνεέ τε  
 5 ὀρέων αὐτοὺς προθύμους ἔοντας εἰς τὸν πόλεμον,  
 καὶ τὸ ὄρυγμα ἀκούων. Ἐν Ἀκάνθῳ 117  
 δὲ ἔοντος Ξέρξεω συνήνεικε ὑπὸ νούσου  
 ἀποθανεῖν τὸν ἐπεστέῳτα τῆς διώρυχος Death of Ar-  
tachaeas ;  
honours paid  
to him,



- Ἄρταχαίην, δόκιμον ἔοντα παρὰ Ξέρξῃ καὶ  
γένος Ἀχαιμενίδην, μεγάθει τε μέγιστον ἔοντα 5  
Περσέων (ἀπὸ γὰρ πέντε πηχέων βασιλητῶν  
ἀπέλιπε τέσσερας δακτύλους) φωνέοντά τε μέγισ-  
τον ἀνθρώπων, ὥστε Ξέρξεα, συμφορὴν ποιη-  
σάμενον μεγάλην, ἐξενεῖκαί τε αὐτὸν κάλλιστα  
καὶ θάψαι· ἐτυμβοχόεε δὲ πᾶσα ἡ στρατιή. 10  
τούτῳ δὲ τῷ Ἀρταχαίῃ θύουσι Ἀκάνθιοι ἐκ θεο-  
προπίου ὡς ἥρωϊ, ἐπονυομάζοντες τὸ οὐνόμα. βα-  
σιλεὺς μὲν δὴ Ξέρξης ἀπολομένου Ἀρταχαίω  
118 ἐποιέετο συμφορὴν. Οἱ δὲ ὑποδεκόμενοι Ἑλλή-  
Entertain-  
ment of the  
host. νων τὴν στρατιὴν καὶ δειπνίζοντες Ξέρ-  
ξεα ἐς πᾶν κακοῦ ἀπῖκατο, οὕτω ὥστε  
ἀνάστατοι ἐκ τῶν οἰκίων ἐγίνοντο· ὅκου γε Θα-  
σίοισι ὑπὲρ τῶν ἐν τῇ ἠπείρῳ πολλῶν τῶν σφετέ- 5  
ρων δεξαμένοισι τὴν Ξέρξεω στρατιὴν καὶ δει-  
πνίσασι Ἀντίπατρος ὁ Ὀργέος ἀραιρημένος, τῶν  
ἀστῶν ἀνὴρ δόκιμος ὁμοῖα τῷ μάλιστα, ἀπέδεξε  
ἐς τὸ δεῖπνον τετρακόσια τάλαντα ἀργυρίου τετε-  
119 λεσμένα. Ὡς δὲ παραπλησίως καὶ ἐν τῇσι ἄλ-  
Ruinous ex-  
penditure. λησι πόλισι οἱ ἐπεστεῶτες ἀπεδείκνυσαν  
τὸν λόγον. τὸ γὰρ δεῖπνόν τοιόνδε τι  
ἐγίνετο, οἷα ἐκ πολλοῦ χρόνου προειρημένον καὶ  
περὶ πολλοῦ ποιούμενον. τοῦτο μὲν, ὡς ἐπύθοντο 5  
τάχιστα τῶν κηρύκων τῶν περιαγγελλόντων, δα-  
σάμενοι σῖτον ἐν τῇσι πόλισι οἱ ἀστοὶ ἄλευρά τε  
καὶ ἄλφита ἐποίεον πάντες ἐπὶ μῆνας συχνούς·  
τοῦτο δὲ κτήνεα σιτεῦεσκον, ἐξευρίσκοντες τιμῆς  
τὰ κάλλιστα, ἔτρεφόν τε ὄρνιθας χερσαίους καὶ 10  
λιμναίους ἐν τε οἰκήμασι καὶ λάκκοις, ἐς ὑπο-

δοχὰς τοῦ στρατοῦ· τοῦτο δὲ χρύσεά τε καὶ  
 ἀργύρεα ποτήρια τέ καὶ κρητῆρας ἐποιεῦντο, καὶ  
 τὰ ἄλλα, ὅσα ἐπὶ τράπεζαν τίθεται πάντα. ταῦτα  
 15 μὲν δὴ αὐτῷ τε βασιλεῖ καὶ τοῖσι ὁμοσίτοισι μετ'  
 ἐκείνου ἐπεποίητο, τῇ δὲ ἄλλῃ στρατιῇ τὰ ἐς  
 φορβὴν μούνα τασσόμενα. ὅκως δὲ ἀπίκοιτο ἡ  
 στρατιή, σκηνὴ μὲν ἔσκε πεπηγυῖα ἐτοίμη, ἐς τὴν  
 αὐτὸς σταθμὸν ποιέεσκετο Ξέρξης· ἡ δὲ ἄλλη  
 20 στρατιή ἔσκε ὑπαίθριος. ὥς δὲ δείπνου γίνοιτο  
 ὥρη, οἱ μὲν δεκόμενοι ἔχесκον πόνον· οἱ δὲ, ὅκως  
 πλησθέντες νύκτα αὐτοῦ ἀγάγοιεν, τῇ ὑστεραίῃ  
 τὴν τε σκηνὴν ἀνασπάσαντες καὶ τὰ ἐπιπλα πάντα  
 λαβόντες, οὕτω ἀπελαύνεσκον, λείποντες οὐδὲν,  
 ἀλλὰ φερόμενοι. Ἐνθα δὴ Μεγακρέοντος, ἀνδρὸς 120  
 Ἀβδηρίτεω, ἔπος εὖ εἰρημένον ἐγένετο, Megacreon's  
bon mot.  
 ὃς συνεβούλευσε Ἀβδηρίτησι, πανδημεῖ,  
 αὐτοὺς καὶ γυναῖκας, ἐλθόντας ἐς τὰ σφέτερα ἱρὰ,  
 5 ἵζεσθαι ἱκέτας τῶν θεῶν, παραιτεομένους καὶ τὸ  
 λοιπὸν σφί ἀπαμύνειν τῶν ἐπιόντων κακῶν τὰ  
 ἡμίσεα, τῶν τε παροιχομένων ἔχειν σφί μεγάλην  
 χάριν, ὅτι βασιλεὺς Ξέρξης οὐ δις ἐκάστης ἡμέρης  
 ἐνόμισε σῖτον αἰρέεσθαι. παρέχειν γὰρ ἂν Ἀβδη-  
 10 ρίτησι, εἰ καὶ ἄριστον προεῖρητο ὁμοῖα τῷ δείπνῳ  
 παρασκευάζειν, ἢ μὴ ὑπομένειν Ξέρξεα ἐπιόντα,  
 ἢ καταμείναντας, κάκιστα πάντων ἀνθρώπων δια-  
 τριβῆναι. Οἱ μὲν δὴ πιεζόμενοι ὁμοίως τὸ ἐπι-  
 τασσόμενον ἐπετέλεον.

Ξέρξης δὲ ἐκ τῆς Ἀκάνθου, ἐντειλάμενος τοῖσι 121  
 στρατηγοῖσι τὸν ναυτικὸν στρατὸν ὑπο- Separation  
of army and  
fleet.  
 μένειν ἐν Θέρμῃ, ἀπῆκε ἀπ' ἐωυτοῦ πο-

ρεύεσθαι τὰς νέας, Θέρμη δὲ τῇ ἐν τῷ Θερμαῖῳ  
 κόλπῳ οἰκημένη, ἀπ' ἧς καὶ ὁ κόλπος οὗτος τὴν 5  
 ἐπωνυμίην ἔχει· ταύτῃ γὰρ ἐπυνθάνετο συντο-  
 μώτατον εἶναι. Μέχρι μὲν γὰρ Ἀκάνθου ὧδε  
 τεταγμένος ὁ στρατὸς ἐκ Δορίσκου τὴν ὁδὸν ἐποιέ-  
 ετο. τρεῖς μοῖρας ὁ Ξέρξης δασάμενος πάντα τὸν  
 πεζὸν στρατὸν, μίαν αὐτέων ἔταξε παρὰ θάλασ- 10  
 σαν ἵεναι ὁμοῦ τῷ ναυτικῷ· ταύτης μὲν δὴ ἐστρα-  
 τήγεον Μαρδόνιός τε καὶ Μασίστης· ἑτέρῃ δὲ  
 τεταγμένη ἦιε τοῦ στρατοῦ τριτημορις τὴν μεσό-  
 γαιαν, τῆς ἐστρατήγεον Τριτανταίχμης τε καὶ  
 Γέργις. ἡ δὲ τρίτῃ τῶν μοιρέων, μετ' ἧς ἐπο- 15  
 ρεύετο αὐτὸς ὁ Ξέρξης, ἦιε μὲν τὸ μέσον αὐτέων,  
 στρατηγούς δὲ παρείχετο Σμερδομένεά τε καὶ  
 122 Μεγάβυζον. Ὁ μὲν νυν ναυτικὸς στρατὸς, ὡς  
 ἀπείθῃ ὑπὸ Ξέρξεω, καὶ διεξέπλωσε τὴν  
 διώρυχα τὴν ἐν τῷ Ἀθῷ γενομένην, διέ-  
 χουσαν δὲ ἐς κόλπον, ἐν τῷ Ἀσσα τε πόλις καὶ  
 Πίλωρος καὶ Σίγγος καὶ Σάρτη οἴκηνται, ἐνθεῦτεν, 5  
 ὡς καὶ ἐκ τουτέων τῶν πολλῶν στρατιὴν παρέ-  
 λαβε, ἔπλεε ἀπιέμενος ἐς τὸν Θερμαῖον κόλπον.  
 κάμπτων δὲ Ἀμπελον, τὴν Τορωναίην ἄκρην,  
 παραμείβετο Ἑλληνίδας τάσδε πόλις, ἐκ τῶν νέας  
 τε καὶ στρατιὴν παρελάμβανε, Τορώνην, Γαληψὸν, 10  
 Σερμύλην, Μηκύβερναν, Ὀλυνθον. ἡ μὲν νυν  
 123 χώρα αὕτη Σιθωνίη καλεῖται. Ὁ δὲ ναυτικὸς  
 στρατὸς ὁ Ξέρξεω, συντάμνων ἀπ' Ἀμ-  
 πέλου ἄκρης ἐπὶ Κανάστραιον ἄκρην, τὸ  
 δὴ πάσης τῆς Παλλήνης ἀνέχει μάλιστα, ἐν-  
 τεῦθεν νέας τε καὶ στρατιὴν παρελάμβανε ἐκ 5

Course of the  
fleet.

Arrival at  
Therma.

Ποτιδαίης καὶ Ἀφύτιος καὶ Νέης Πόλιος καὶ  
 Αἰγῆς καὶ Θεράμβω καὶ Σκιώνης καὶ Μένδης καὶ  
 Σάνης· αὐται γάρ εἰσι αἱ τὴν νῦν Παλλήνην,  
 πρότερον δὲ Φλέγρην καλεομένην, νεμόμεναι.  
 10 Παραπλέων δὲ καὶ ταύτην τὴν χώραν ἔπλεε ἐς τὸ  
 προειρημένον, παραλαμβάνων στρατιὴν καὶ ἐκ  
 τῶν προσεχέων πολίων τῇ Παλλήνῃ, ὁμουρεου-  
 σέων δὲ τῷ Θερμαίῳ κόλπῳ, τῇσι οὐνόματά ἐστι  
 τάδε, Λίπαξος, Κώμβρεια, Λίσαι, Γίγωνος, Κάμ-  
 15 ψα, Σμίλα, Αἴνεια. ἡ δὲ τουτέων χώρα Κροσσαίη  
 ἔτι καὶ ἐς τόδε καλέεται. Ἀπὸ δὲ Αἰνείης, ἐς τὴν  
 ἐτελεύτων καταλέγων τὰς πόλεις, ἀπὸ ταύτης ἤδη  
 ἐς αὐτόν τε τὸν Θερμαῖον κόλπον ἐγένετο τῷ  
 ναυτικῷ στρατῷ ὁ πλόος καὶ γῆν τὴν Μυγδονίην.  
 20 πλέων δὲ ἀπίκητο ἔς τε τὴν προειρημένην Θέρμην  
 καὶ Σινδόν τε πόλιν καὶ Χαλέστρην, ἐπὶ τὸν  
 Ἄξιον ποταμὸν, ὃς οὐρίζει χώραν τὴν Μυγδονίην  
 τε καὶ Βοττιαῖδα, τῆς ἔχουσι τὸ παρὰ θάλασσαν  
 στεινὸν χωρίον πόλεις Ἰχναι τε καὶ Πέλλα.

Ὁ μὲν δὴ ναυτικὸς στρατὸς αὐτοῦ περὶ Ἄξιον 124  
 ποταμὸν καὶ πόλιν Θέρμην καὶ τὰς Course of the  
army.  
 μεταξὺ πόλεις τούτων, περιμένων βασι-  
 λέα, ἐστρατοπεδεύετο. Ξέρξης δὲ καὶ ὁ πεζὸς  
 5 στρατὸς ἐπορεύετο ἐκ τῆς Ἀκάνθου, τὴν μεσό-  
 γαιαν τάμνων τῆς ὁδοῦ, βουλόμενος ἐς τὴν Θέρμην  
 ἀπικέσθαι. ἐπορεύετο δὲ διὰ τῆς Παιονικῆς καὶ  
 Κρηστωνικῆς ἐπὶ ποταμὸν Ἐχειδωρον, ὃς ἐκ Κρη-  
 στωναίων ἀρξάμενος ῥέει διὰ Μυγδονίης χώρας,  
 10 καὶ ἐξίει παρὰ τὸ ἔλος τὸ ἐπ' Ἀξίῳ ποταμῷ.  
 Πορευομένῳ δὲ ταύτῃ λέοντές οἱ ἐπεθήκαντο τῇσι 125



The camels  
attacked by  
lions. *σιτοφόροισι καμήλοισι. καταφοιτέοντες*  
*γὰρ οἱ λέοντες τὰς νύκτας καὶ λείποντες*

*τὰ σφέτερα ἤθεα ἄλλου μὲν οὐδενὸς ἄπτοντο οὔτε*  
*ὑποζυγίου οὔτε ἀνθρώπου, οἱ δὲ τὰς καμήλους 5*  
*ἐκεραΐζον μούνας. θουμάζω δὲ τὸ αἴτιον, ὃ τι*  
*κοτὲ ἦν, τῶν ἄλλων τὸ ἀναγκάζον ἀπεχομένους*  
*τοὺς λέοντας τῇσι καμήλοισι ἐπιτίθεσθαι, τὸ μῆτε*  
*πρότερον ὀπώπεσαν θηρίον, μῆτ' ἐπεπειρέατο*

126 *αὐτοῦ. Εἰσὶ δὲ κατὰ ταῦτα τὰ χωρία καὶ λέοντες*

Animals of  
the district.

*πολλοὶ, καὶ βόες ἄγριοι, τῶν τὰ κέρα*  
*ὑπερμεγάθεά ἐστι, τὰ ἐς Ἑλληνας φοι-*  
*τέοντα. οὖρος δὲ τοῖσι λέουσὶ ἐστι ὃ τε δι' Ἀβ-*  
*δήρων ῥέων ποταμὸς Νέστος καὶ ὁ δι' Ἀκαρνανίης 5*  
*ῥέων Ἀχελῷος. οὔτε γὰρ τὸ πρὸς τὴν ἡῶ τοῦ*  
*Νέστου οὐδαμόθι πάσης τῆς ἔμπροσθεν Εὐρώπης*  
*ἴδοι τις ἂν λέοντα, οὔτε πρὸς ἐσπέρης τοῦ Ἀχε-*  
*λῷου ἐν τῇ ἐπιλοίπῳ ἡπείρῳ, ἀλλ' ἐν τῇ μεταξὺ*

127 *τούτων τῶν ποταμῶν γίνονται. Ὡς δὲ ἐς τὴν Θέρ-*

Halt at  
Therma.

*μην ἀπίκητο ὁ Ξέρξης, ἴδρυσεν αὐτοῦ τὴν*  
*στρατιήν. ἐπέσχε δὲ ὁ στρατὸς αὐτοῦ στρα-*  
*τοπεδευόμενος τὴν παρὰ θάλασσαν χώραν τοσὴνδε,*  
*ἀρξάμενος ἀπὸ Θέρμης πόλιος καὶ τῆς Μυγδονίης 5*  
*μέχρι Λυδιέω τε ποταμοῦ καὶ Ἀλιάκμονος, οἱ*  
*οὐρίζουσι γῆν τὴν Βοττιαϊίδα τε καὶ Μακεδονίδα,*  
*ἐς τῶντὸ ῥέεθρον τὸ ὕδωρ συμμίσγοντες. ἐστρα-*  
*τοπεδεύοντο μὲν δὴ ἐν τούτοισι τοῖσι χωρίοις οἱ*  
*βάρβαροι. τῶν δὲ καταλεχθέντων τούτων ποτα-*  
*μῶν ἐκ Κρηστωναίης ῥέων Ἐχειδωρος μῦνος οὐκ*  
*ἀντέχρησε τῇ στρατιῇ πινόμενος, ἀλλ' ἐπέλιπε.*

128 *Ξέρξης δὲ ὀρέων ἐκ τῆς Θέρμης οὖρεα τὰ*

Θεσσαλικά, τὸν τε Οὐλυμπον καὶ τὴν Xerxes views  
the mouth of  
the Peneus.  
 Ὀσσαν, μεγάθει τε ὑπερμήκεα ἔντα,  
 διὰ μέσου τε αὐτῶν αὐλῶνα στεινὸν πυνθανόμενος  
 5 εἶναι, δι' οὗ ῥέει ὁ Πηνειὸς, ἀκούων τε εἶναι ταύτη  
 ὁδὸν ἐς Θεσσαλίην φέρουσαν, ἐπεθύμησε πλώσας  
 θεήσασθαι τὴν ἐκβολὴν τοῦ Πηνειοῦ, ὅτι τὴν ἄνω  
 ὁδὸν ἔμελλε ἔλᾶν διὰ Μακεδόνων τῶν κατύπερθε  
 οἰκημένων ἐς Περραιβοὺς παρὰ Γόννον πόλιν·  
 10 ταύτη γὰρ ἀσφαλέστατον ἐπυνθάνετο εἶναι. ὥς  
 δὲ ἐπεθύμησε, καὶ ἐποίεε ταῦτα. ἐσβὰς ἐς Σι-  
 δωνίην νέα, ἐς τὴν περ ἐσέβαινε αἰεὶ, ὅπως τι  
 ἐθέλοι τοιοῦτο ποιῆσαι, ἀνέδεξε σημήϊον καὶ τοῖσι  
 ἄλλοισι ἀνάγεσθαι, καταλιπὼν αὐτοῦ τὸν πεζὸν  
 15 στρατόν. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀπίκητο καὶ ἐθεήσατο Ξέρξης  
 τὴν ἐκβολὴν τοῦ Πηνειοῦ, ἐν θώματι μεγάλῳ  
 ἐνέσχετο. καλέσας δὲ τοὺς κατηγεμόνας τῆς ὁδοῦ  
 εἶρετο, εἰ τὸν ποταμὸν ἔστι παρατρέψαντα ἑτέρῃ  
 ἐς θάλασσαν ἐξαγαγεῖν. Τὴν δὲ Θεσσαλίην λόγος 129  
 ἐστὶ τὸ παλαιὸν εἶναι λίμνην, ὥστε γε Description  
of Thessaly.  
 συγκεκληϊμένην πάντοθεν ὑπερμήκεσι  
 οὖρεσι. τὰ μὲν γὰρ αὐτῆς πρὸς τὴν ἡῶ ἔχοντα τό  
 5 τε Πήλιον οὖρος καὶ ἡ Ὀσσα ἀποκλήϊει, συμ-  
 μίσγοντα τὰς ὑπωρέας ἀλλήλοισι, τὰ δὲ πρὸς  
 βορέῳ ἀνέμου Οὐλυμπος, τὰ δὲ πρὸς ἐσπέρην  
 Πίνδος, τὰ δὲ πρὸς μεσαμβρίην τε καὶ ἀνεμον  
 νότον ἡ Ὀθρυς· τὸ μέσον δὲ τούτων τῶν λεχ-  
 10 θέντων οὐρέων ἡ Θεσσαλίη ἐστὶ, ἐοῦσα κοίλῃ.  
 ὥστε ὦν ποταμῶν ἐς αὐτὴν καὶ ἄλλων συχνῶν  
 ἐσβαλλόντων, πέντε δὲ τῶν δοκίμων μάλιστα  
 τῶνδε, Πηνειοῦ καὶ Ἀπιδανοῦ καὶ Ὀνοχώνου καὶ

Ἐνιπέος καὶ Παμίσου, οἱ μὲν νυν ἐς τὸ πεδίον  
 τοῦτο συλλεγόμενοι ἐκ τῶν οὐρέων τῶν περι- 15  
 κληϊόντων τὴν Θεσσαλίην οὐνομαζόμενοι, δι' ἐνὸς  
 αὐλῶνος, καὶ τούτου στενοῦ, ἔκροον ἔχουσι ἐς  
 θάλασσαν, προσυμμίσγοντες τὸ ὕδωρ πάντες ἐς  
 τῶντό· ἐπεὰν δὲ συμμιχθέωσι τάχιστα, ἐνθεύτην  
 ἤδη ὁ Πηνειὸς τῷ οὐνόματι κατακρατέων ἀνω- 20  
 νύμους τοὺς ἄλλους εἶναι ποιεῖ. Τὸ δὲ παλαιὸν  
 λέγεται, οὐκ ἐόντος κω τοῦ αὐλῶνος καὶ διεκρούου  
 τούτου, τοὺς ποταμοὺς τούτους, καὶ πρὸς τοῖσι  
 ποταμοῖσι τούτοισι τὴν Βοιβηΐδα λίμνην οὔτε  
 οὐνομάζεσθαι κατάπερ νῦν, ῥέειν τε οὐδὲν ἔσσαν 25  
 ἢ νῦν, ῥέοντας δὲ ποιεῖν τὴν Θεσσαλίην πᾶσαν  
 πέλαγος. αὐτοὶ μὲν νυν Θεσσαλοὶ φασὶ Ποσει-  
 δέωνα ποιῆσαι τὸν αὐλῶνα, δι' οὗ ῥέει ὁ Πηνειὸς,  
 οἰκότα λέγοντες. ὅστις γὰρ νομίζει Ποσειδέωνα  
 τὴν γῆν σείειν, καὶ τὰ διεσπεῶτα ὑπὸ σεισμῷ τοῦ 30  
 θεοῦ τούτου ἔργα εἶναι, καὶ ἂν ἐκεῖνο ἰδὼν φαίη  
 Ποσειδέωνα ποιῆσαι. ἔστι γὰρ σεισμῷ ἔργον,  
 ὥς ἐμοὶ ἐφαίνετο εἶναι, ἢ διάστασις τῶν οὐρέων.

130 Οἱ δὲ κατηγεόμενοι, εἰρομένου Ξέρξεω, εἰ ἔστι  
 ἄλλη ἕξοδος ἐς θάλασσαν τῷ Πηνειῷ,  
 ἐξεπιστάμενοι ἀτρεκέως εἶπον· Βασιλεῦ,  
 ποταμῷ τούτῳ οὐκ ἔστι ἄλλη ἐξήλυσις ἐς θάλασ-  
 σαν κατήκουσα, ἀλλ' ἦδε αὕτη· οὐρεσι γὰρ περιε- 5  
 στεφάνωται πᾶσα Θεσσαλία. Ξέρξεα δὲ λέγεται  
 εἰπεῖν πρὸς ταῦτα· Σοφοὶ ἄνδρες εἰσὶ Θεσσαλοὶ.  
 ταῦτ' ἄρα πρὸ πολλοῦ ἐφυλάξαντο γνωσιμαχέον-  
 τες, καὶ τᾶλλα καὶ ὅτι χώραν ἄρα εἶχον εὐαίρετόν  
 τε καὶ ταχυάλωτον. τὸν γὰρ ποταμὸν πρῆγμα ἂν 10

Xerxes' opi-  
 nion of the  
 Thessalians.

ἦν μούνον ἐπεῖναί σφεων ἐπὶ τὴν χώραν, χώματι  
 ἐκ τοῦ αὐλῶνος ἐκβιβάσαντα καὶ παρατρέψαντα,  
 δι' ὧν νῦν ῥέει ῥεέθρων, ὥστε Θεσσαλὴν πᾶσαν ἔξω  
 τῶν οὐρέων ὑπόβρυχα γενέσθαι. Ταῦτα δὲ ἔχοντα  
 15 ἔλεγε ἐς τοὺς Ἀλεύεω παῖδας, ὅτι πρῶτοι Ἑλλή-  
 νων, ἔοντες Θεσσαλοὶ, ἔδοσαν ἑωντούς βασιλεῖ,  
 δοκέων ὁ Ξέρξης ἀπὸ παντός σφεας τοῦ ἔθνεος  
 ἐπαγγέλλεσθαι φιλίην. εἶπας δὲ ταῦτα καὶ θεη-  
 σάμενος ἀπέπλεε ἐς τὴν Θέρμην.

Ὁ μὲν δὴ περὶ Πιερίην διέτριβε ἡμέρας 131  
 συχνάς. τὸ γὰρ δὴ οὖρος τὸ Μακεδони-  
 κὸν ἔκειρε τῆς στρατιῆς τριτημορίς, ἵνα Return of  
the heralds.  
 ταύτῃ διεξίῃ ἅπανα ἡ στρατιὰ ἐς Περραιβούς. Οἱ  
 5 δὲ δὴ κήρυκες οἱ ἀποπεμφθέντες ἐς τὴν Ἑλλάδα  
 ἐπὶ γῆς αἴτησιν ἀπίκατο, οἱ μὲν κεινοὶ, οἱ δὲ φέρον-  
 τες γῆν τε καὶ ὕδωρ. Τῶν δὲ δόντων ταῦτα ἐγέ- 132  
 νοντο οἶδε· Θεσσαλοὶ, Δόλοπες, Ἐνιή-  
 νες, Περραιβοὶ, Λοκροὶ, Μάγνητες, Μη- The states  
which me-  
dised.  
 λιέες, Ἀχαιοὶ οἱ Φθιώται, καὶ Θηβαῖοι,  
 5 καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι Βοιωτοὶ, πλὴν Θεσπιέων τε καὶ  
 Πλαταιέων. Ἐπὶ τούτοις οἱ Ἕλληνες ἔταμον  
 ὄρκιον οἱ τῷ βαρβάρῳ πόλεμον ἀειράμενοι. τὸ δὲ  
 ὄρκιον ὧδε εἶχε· Ὅσοι τῷ Πέρσῃ ἔδοσαν σφεας  
 αὐτοὺς Ἕλληνες ἔοντες, μὴ ἀναγκασθέντες, κατα-  
 10 στάντων σφι εἰς τῶν πρηγμάτων, τούτους δεκατεῦ-  
 σαι τῷ ἐν Δελφοῖσι θεῷ. τὸ μὲν δὴ ὄρκιον ὧδε  
 εἶχε τοῖσι Ἕλλησι. Ἐς δὲ Ἀθήνας καὶ Σπάρτην 133  
 οὐκ ἀπέπεμψε ὁ Πέρσης ἐπὶ γῆς αἴτησιν  
 κήρυκας τῶνδε εἵνεκα· πρότερον Δαρείου  
 πέμψαντος ἐπ' αὐτὸ τοῦτο οἱ μὲν αὐτῶν Fate of the  
heralds sent  
by Darius.



τοὺς αἰτέοντας ἐς τὸ βάραθρον, οἱ δὲ ἐς φρέαρ 5  
ἐσβαλόντες ἐκέλευον γῆν τε καὶ ὕδωρ ἐκ τούτων  
φέρειν παρὰ βασιλέα. τούτων μὲν εἵνεκα οὐκ  
ἔπεμψε Ξέρξης τοὺς αἰτήσοντας. "Ο τι δὲ τοῖσι  
Ἀθηναίοισι ταῦτα ποιήσασι τοὺς κήρυκας συνή-  
νεικε ἀνεθέλητον γενέσθαι, οὐκ ἔχω εἶπαι, πλὴν 10  
ὅτι σφέων ἡ χώρα καὶ ἡ πόλις ἐδηϊώθη· ἀλλὰ  
τοῦτο οὐ διὰ ταύτην τὴν αἰτίην δοκέω γενέσθαι.

- 134 Τοῖσι δὲ ὦν Λακεδαιμονίοισι μῆνις κατέσκηψε  
Ταλθυβίου, τοῦ Ἀγαμέμνονος κήρυκος.  
ἐν γὰρ Σπάρτῃ ἐστὶ Ταλθυβίου ἱρόν·  
εἰσὶ δὲ καὶ ἀπόγονοι Ταλθυβίου, Ταλθυ-  
βιάδαι καλεόμενοι, τοῖσι αἰ κηρυκεῖται αἰ 5  
ἐκ Σπάρτης πᾶσαι γέρας δέδονται. μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα  
τοῖσι Σπαρτιήτῃσι καλλιρῆσαι θυομένοισι οὐκ  
ἐδύνατο· τοῦτο δ' ἐπὶ χρόνον συχνὸν ἦν σφι.  
ἀχθομένων δὲ καὶ συμφορῇ χρεωμένων Λακεδαι-  
μονίων, ἀλίας τε πολλάκις συλλεγομένης, καὶ 10  
κήρυγμα τοιόνδε ποιευμένων, εἴ τις βούλοιο  
Λακεδαιμονίων πρὸ τῆς Σπάρτης ἀποθνήσκειν,  
Σπερθίης τε ὁ Ἀνηρίστου καὶ Βούλις ὁ Νικόλεω,  
ἄνδρες Σπαρτιῆται, φύσι τε γεγονότες εὖ καὶ  
χρήμασι ἀνήκοντες ἐς τὰ πρῶτα, ἐθελονταὶ ὑπέδν- 15  
σαν ποινὴν τίσαι Ξέρξῃ τῶν Δαρείου κηρύκων  
τῶν ἐν Σπάρτῃ ἀπολομένων. οὕτω Σπαρτιῆται  
τούτους ὡς ἀποθανευμένους ἐς Μήδους ἀπέπεμψαν.

- 135 Αὕτη τε ἡ τόλμα τούτων τῶν ἀνδρῶν θούματος  
ἀξίη, καὶ τάδε πρὸς τούτοις τὰ ἔπεα.  
πορευόμενοι γὰρ ἐς Σοῦσα ἀπικνέονται  
παρὰ Ὑδάρνεα. ὁ δὲ Ὑδάρνης ἦν μὲν γένος Πέρ-

Wrath of  
Talthybius;  
self-devotion  
of Sperthias  
and Bulis.

Their answer  
to Hydarnes.

5 σης, στρατηγὸς δὲ τῶν παραθαλασσίων ἀνθρώπων  
 τῶν ἐν τῇ Ἀσίῃ, ὃς σφεας ξείνια προθέμενος ἰστία.  
 ξεινίζων δὲ εἶρετο, λέγων τάδε· Ἄνδρες Λακεδαι-  
 μόνιοι, τί δὴ φεύγετε βασιλεῖ φίλοι γενέσθαι;  
 ὁρᾶτε γάρ, ὥς ἐπίσταται βασιλεὺς ἄνδρας ἀγαθοὺς  
 10 τιμᾶν, ἐς ἐμέ τε καὶ τὰ ἐμὰ πρήγματα ἀποβλέ-  
 ποντες. οὕτω δὴ καὶ ὑμεῖς εἰ δοίητε ὑμέας αὐτοὺς  
 βασιλεῖ, δεδόξωσθε γὰρ πρὸς αὐτοῦ ἄνδρες εἶναι  
 ἀγαθοὶ, ἕκαστος ἂν ὑμέων ἄρχοι γῆς Ἑλλάδος,  
 δόντος βασιλέος. Πρὸς ταῦτα ὑπεκρίναντο τάδε·  
 15 Ὕδαρνες, οὐκ ἐξ ἴσου γίνεται ἡ συμβουλή ἢ ἐς  
 ἡμέας τείνουσα. τοῦ μὲν γὰρ πεπειρημένος συμ-  
 βουλευεῖς, τοῦ δὲ ἄπειρος ἐὼν. τὸ μὲν γὰρ δοῦλος  
 εἶναι ἐξεπίστεαι, ἐλευθερίας δὲ οὐκ ἔπειρήθης,  
 οὐτ' εἰ ἔστι γλυκὺ, οὐτ' εἰ μῆ. εἰ γὰρ αὐτῆς  
 20 πειρήσαιο, οὐκ ἂν δόρασι συμβουλευοῖς ἡμῖν περὶ  
 αὐτῆς μάχεσθαι, ἀλλὰ καὶ πελέκεσι. Ταῦτα μὲν 136  
 Ὕδαρνεα ἀμείψαντο. Ἐνθεῦτεν δὲ ὥς  
 ἀνέβησαν ἐς Σοῦσα, καὶ βασιλεῖ ἐς ὄψιν  
 ἦλθον, πρῶτα μὲν τῶν δορυφόρων κελευ-  
 5 ὄντων καὶ ἀνάγκην σφι προσφερόντων προσκυνεῖν  
 βασιλέα προσπίπτοντας, οὐκ ἔφασαν, ὠθεόμενοι  
 πρὸς αὐτῶν ἐπὶ κεφαλὴν, ποιήσειν ταῦτα οὐδαμά·  
 οὔτε γάρ σφι ἐν νόμῳ εἶναι ἄνθρωπον προσκυνεῖν,  
 οὔτε κατὰ ταῦτα ἤκειν. ὥς δὲ ἀπεμαχέσαντο  
 10 τοῦτο, δεύτερά σφι λέγουσι τάδε καὶ λόγου τοιοῦδε  
 ἐχόμενα, Ὡ βασιλεῦ Μήδων, ἔπεμψαν ἡμέας  
 Λακεδαιμόνιοι ἀντὶ τῶν ἐν Σπάρτῃ ἀπολομένων  
 κηρύκων, ποινὴν ἐκείνων τίσοντας. λέγουσι  
 δὲ αὐτοῖσι ταῦτα Ξέρξης ὑπὸ μεγαλοφροσύνης

Their au-  
 dience of  
 Xerxes; his  
 generosity.

οὐκ ἔφη ὁμοῖος ἔσεσθαι Λακεδαιμονίοισι· κεί- 15  
 νους μὲν γὰρ συγχέαι τὰ πάντων ἀνθρώπων  
 νόμιμα, ἀποκτείναντας κήρυκας· αὐτὸς δὲ, τὰ  
 ἐκείνοισι ἐπιπλήσσει, ταῦτα οὐ ποιήσῃν, οὐδ'  
 ἀνταποκτείνας ἐκείνους, ἀπολύσειν Λακεδαιμονίους  
 137 τῆς αἰτίας. Οὕτω ἡ Ταλθυβίου μῆνις, καὶ ταῦτα  
 ποιησάντων Σπαρτιητέων, ἐπαύσατο τὸ  
 παραυτίκα, καίπερ ἀπομοστησάντων ἐς  
 Σπάρτην Σπερθιέω τε καὶ Βούλιος.  
 χρόνῳ δὲ μετέπειτα πολλῶ ἐπηγέρθη κατὰ τὸν 5  
 Πελοποννησίων καὶ Ἀθηναίων πόλεμον, ὡς λέ-  
 γουσι Λακεδαιμόνιοι. τοῦτό μοι ἐν τοῖσι θειό-  
 τατον φαίνεται γενέσθαι. ὅτι μὲν γὰρ κατέσκηψε  
 ἐς ἀγγέλους ἡ Ταλθυβίου μῆνις, οὐδὲ ἐπαύσατο  
 πρὶν ἢ ἐξῆλθε, τὸ δίκαιον οὕτω ἔφερε· τὸ δὲ 10  
 συμπεσεῖν ἐς τοὺς παῖδας τῶν ἀνδρῶν τούτων τῶν  
 ἀναβάντων πρὸς βασιλέα διὰ τὴν μῆνιν, ἐς Νικό-  
 λεων τε τὸν Βούλιος καὶ ἐς Ἀνήριστον τὸν Σπερ-  
 θιέω, ὃς εἶλε Ἀλιέας τοὺς ἐκ Τίρυνθος ὀλκάδι  
 καταπλώσας πλήρεϊ ἀνδρῶν, δῆλον ὦν μοι, ὅτι 15  
 θεῖον ἐγένετο τὸ πρῆγμα ἐκ τῆς μῆνιος. οἱ γὰρ  
 πεμφθέντες ὑπὸ Λακεδαιμονίων ἀγγελοι ἐς τὴν  
 Ἀσίην, προδοθέντες δὲ ὑπὸ Σιτάλκεω τοῦ Τήρεω,  
 Θρηϊκῶν βασιλέος, καὶ Νυμφοδώρου τοῦ Πυθέω,  
 ἀνδρὸς Ἀβδηρίτεω, ἥλωσαν κατὰ Βισάνθην τὴν ἐν 20  
 Ἑλλησπόντῳ, καὶ ἀπαχθέντες ἐς τὴν Ἀττικὴν ἀπέ-  
 θανον ὑπὸ Ἀθηναίων, μετὰ δὲ αὐτῶν καὶ Ἀριστέης  
 ὁ Ἀδειμάντου, Κορίνθιος ἀνὴρ. ταῦτα μὲν νυν πολ-  
 λοῖσι ἔτεσι ὕστερον ἐγένετο τοῦ βασιλέος στόλου.

138 Ἐπάνειμι δὲ ἐπὶ τὸν πρότερον λόγον. Ἡ δὲ

Revival of  
the curse in  
later days  
B.C. 430.

στρατηλασίῃ ἢ βασιλέος οὐνομα μὲν  
 εἶχε ὥς ἐπ' Ἀθήνας ἐλαύνει, κατίετο δὲ Position of  
affairs in  
Greece.  
 ἐς πᾶσαν τὴν Ἑλλάδα. πυνθανόμενοι

5 δὲ ταῦτα πρὸ πολλοῦ οἱ Ἕλληνες οὐκ ἐν ὁμοίῳ  
 πάντες ἐποιεῦντο. οἱ μὲν γὰρ αὐτῶν, δόντες γῆν  
 τε καὶ ὕδωρ τῷ Πέρσῃ, εἶχον θάρσος ὥς οὐδὲν  
 πεισόμενοι ἄχαρι πρὸς τοῦ βαρβάρου· οἱ δὲ, οὐ  
 δόντες, ἐν δείματι μεγάλῳ κατέστασαν, ἅτε οὔτε  
 10 νεῶν ἐουσέων ἐν τῇ Ἑλλάδι ἀριθμὸν ἀξιομάχων  
 δέκεσθαι τὸν ἐπιόντα, οὔτε βουλομένων τῶν πολ-  
 λῶν ἀντάπτεσθαι τοῦ πολέμου, μηδιζόντων δὲ  
 προθύμως. Ἐνθαῦτα ἀναγκαίῃ ἐξέργομαι γνώμῃν 139  
 ἀποδέξασθαι, ἐπίφθονον μὲν πρὸς τῶν  
 πλεόνων ἀνθρώπων, ὅμως δὲ, τῇ γέ μοι Patriotic  
attitude of  
Athens.  
 φαίνεται εἶναι ἀληθές, οὐκ ἐπισχῆσω.

5 Εἰ Ἀθηναῖοι, καταρρωδήσαντες τὸν ἐπιόντα κίν-  
 δυνον, ἐξέλιπον τὴν σφετέρην, ἣ καὶ μὴ ἐκλιπόν-  
 τες, ἀλλὰ μέιναντες ἔδοσαν σφέας αὐτοὺς Ξέρξῃ,  
 κατὰ τὴν θάλασσαν οὐδαμοὶ ἂν ἐπειρῶντο ἀντιέ-  
 μνοι βασιλέϊ. εἰ τοίνυν κατὰ τὴν θάλασσαν  
 10 μηδεὶς ἠντιοῦτο Ξέρξῃ, κατὰ γε ἂν τὴν ἡπειρον  
 τοιάδε ἐγίνετο. εἰ καὶ πολλοὶ τειχέων κιθῶνες  
 ἦσαν ἐληλαμένοι διὰ τοῦ Ἰσθμοῦ Πελοποννη-  
 σίοισι, προδοθέντες ἂν Λακεδαιμόνιοι ὑπὸ τῶν  
 συμμάχων (οὐκ ἐκόντων, ἀλλ' ὑπ' ἀναγκαίης, κατὰ  
 15 πόλιν ἀλίσκομένων ὑπὸ τοῦ ναυτικοῦ στρατοῦ τοῦ  
 βαρβάρου) ἐμουνώθησαν· μουνωθέντες δὲ ἂν καὶ  
 ἀποδεξάμενοι ἔργα μεγάλα ἀπέθανον γενναίως. ἢ  
 ταῦτα ἂν ἔπαθον, ἢ πρὸ τοῦ ὀρέωντες ἂν καὶ τοὺς  
 ἄλλους Ἕλληνας μηδίζοντας, ὁμολογίῃ ἂν ἐχρή-



σαντο πρὸς Ξέρξεα· καὶ οὕτω ἂν ἐπ' ἀμφότερα ἢ 20  
 Ἑλλὰς ἐγίνετο ὑπὸ Πέρσῃσι. τὴν γὰρ ὠφελίην  
 τὴν τῶν τειχέων τῶν διὰ τοῦ Ἰσθμοῦ ἐληλαμένων  
 οὐ δύναμαι πυθέσθαι, ἥτις ἂν ἦν, βασιλέος ἐπι-  
 κρατέοντος τῆς θαλάσσης. Νῦν δὲ, Ἀθηναίους ἂν  
 τις λέγων σωτήρας γενέσθαι τῆς Ἑλλάδος, οὐκ ἂν 25  
 ἁμαρτάνοι τὸ ἀληθές. οὗτοι γὰρ ἐπὶ ὁκότερα τῶν  
 πρηγμάτων ἐτράποντο, ταῦτα ρέψειν ἔμελλε. ἐλό-  
 μενοι δὲ τὴν Ἑλλάδα περιεῖναι ἐλευθέρην, τοῦτο  
 τὸ Ἑλληνικὸν πᾶν τὸ λοιπὸν, ὅσον μὴ ἐμήδισε,  
 αὐτοὶ οὗτοι ἦσαν οἱ ἐπεγείραντες καὶ βασιλέα 30  
 μετὰ γε θεοὺς ἀνωσάμενοι. οὐδέ σφεας χρηστήρια  
 φοβερὰ ἐλθόντα ἐκ Δελφῶν καὶ ἐς δεῖμα βαλόντα  
 ἔπεισε ἐκλιπεῖν τὴν Ἑλλάδα, ἀλλὰ καταμείναντες  
 ἀνέσχοντο τὸν ἐπιόντα ἐπὶ τὴν χώραν δέξασθαι.

140 Πέμπσαντες γὰρ οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι ἐς Δελφοὺς θεο-  
 πρόπους χρηστηριάζεσθαι ἦσαν ἐτοῖμοι.

Athenians at  
 Delphi: the  
 first oracle.

καὶ σφι ποιήσασι περὶ τὸ ἱρὸν τὰ νομι-  
 ζόμενα, ὥς ἐς τὸ μέγαρον ἐσελθόντες  
 ἴζοντο, χρᾶ ἢ Πυθίῃ, τῇ οὖνομα ἦν Ἀριστονίκη, 5  
 τάδε·

ὦ μέλεοι, τί κάθησθε; λιπὼν φεύγ' ἔσχατα γαίης  
 δώματα καὶ πόλιος τροχοειδέος ἄκρα κάρηνα.  
 Οὔτε γὰρ ἡ κεφαλὴ μένει ἔμπεδον, οὔτε τὸ σῶμα,  
 οὔτε πόδες νέατοι, οὔτ' ὦν χέρες, οὔτε τι μέσσης 10  
 λείπεται, ἀλλ' αἷζήλα πέλει. Κατὰ γάρ μιν ἐρείπει  
 πῦρ τε καὶ ὀξὺς Ἄρης, Συριηγενὲς ἄρμα διώκων.  
 πολλὰ δὲ κἄλλ' ἀπολεῖ πυργώματα, κοῦ τὸ σὸν οἶον·  
 πολλοὺς δ' ἀθανάτων νηοὺς μαλερῶ πυρὶ δώσει,  
 οἳ που νῦν ἰδρῶτι ῥεοῦμενοι ἐστήκασι, 15

δείματι παλλόμενοι· κατὰ δ' ἀκροτάτοις ὀρόφοισι  
 αἶμα μέλαν κέχνται, προῖδὸν κακότητος ἀνάγκας.  
 Ἄλλ' ἔτον ἐξ ἀδύτοιου, κακοῖς δ' ἐπικίδνατε θυμόν.

Ταῦτα ἀκούσαντες οἱ τῶν Ἀθηναίων θεοπρόποι 141  
 συμφορῇ τῇ μεγίστῃ ἐχρέωντο. προβάλ-  
 λουσι δὲ σφέας αὐτοὺς ὑπὸ τοῦ κακοῦ

The second  
 oracle.

τοῦ κεχρησμένου, Τίμων ὁ Ἀνδροβούλου, τῶν Δελ-  
 5 φῶν ἀνὴρ δόκιμος ὁμοῖα τῷ μάλιστα, συνεβού-  
 λευέ σφι ἱκετηρίας λαβοῦσι, δεύτερα αὖτις ἐλ-  
 θόντας χρᾶσθαι τῷ χρηστηρίῳ ὥς ἱκέτας. πει-  
 θομένοισι δὲ ταῦτα τοῖσι Ἀθηναίοισι, καὶ λέγουσι·  
 ὦναξ, χρήσον ἡμῖν ἄμεινόν τι περὶ τῆς πατρίδος,  
 10 αἰδεσθεῖς τὰς ἱκετηρίας τάσδε, τὰς τοι ἤκομεν  
 φέροντες· ἢ οὐ τοι ἄπιμεν ἐκ τοῦ ἀδύτου, ἀλλ'  
 αὐτοῦ τῇδε μενέομεν, ἔστ' ἂν καὶ τελευτήσωμεν·  
 ταῦτα δὲ λέγουσι ἢ πρόμαντις χρᾶ δεύτερα τάδε·

Οὐ δύναται Παλλὰς Δί' Ὀλύμπιον ἐξιλάσασθαι,  
 15 λισσομένη πολλοῖσι λόγοις καὶ μήτιδι πυκνῇ.  
 σοὶ δὲ τόδ' αὖτις ἔπος ἐρέω, ἀδάμαντι πελάσσας·  
 τῶν ἄλλων γὰρ ἀλίσκομένων, ὅσα Κέκροπος οὔρος  
 ἐντὸς ἔχει κευθμών τε Κιθαιρῶνος ζαθέοιο,  
 20 τείχος Τριτογενεῖ ξύλινον διδοῖ εὐρύοπα Ζεὺς  
 μοῦνον ἀπόρθητον τελέθειν, τὸ σὲ τέκνα τ' ὀνήσει.  
 μηδὲ σύ γ' ἵπποσύνην τε μένειν καὶ πεζὸν ἰόντα  
 πολλὸν ἀπ' ἡπείρου στρατὸν ἥσυχος, ἀλλ' ὑποχωρεῖν  
 νῶτον ἐπιστρέψας· ἔτι τοί ποτε κἀντίος ἔσση.  
 25 ὦ θεῇ Σαλαμῖς, ἀπολεῖς δὲ σὺ τέκνα γυναικῶν,  
 ἢ που σκιδναμένης Δημήτερος ἢ συνιούσης.

Ταῦτά σφι (ἡπιώτερα γὰρ τῶν προτέρων καὶ ἦν 142

Opinions as  
to its mean-  
ing.

καὶ ἐδόκεε εἶναι) συγγραψάμενοι ἀπαλ-  
λάσσουντο ἐς τὰς Ἀθήνας. ὥς δὲ ἀπελ-  
θόντες οἱ θεοπρόποι ἀπήγγελλον ἐς τὸν  
δῆμον, γινῶμαι καὶ ἄλλαι πολλαὶ ἐγίνοντο διζημέ- 5  
νων τὸ μαντήϊον, καὶ αἶδε συνεστηκυῖαι μάλιστα.  
τῶν πρεσβυτέρων ἔλεγον μετεξέτεροι, δοκέειν σφι  
τὸν θεὸν τὴν ἀκρόπολιν χρῆσαι περιέσεσθαι. ἡ  
γὰρ ἀκρόπολις τὸ πάλαι τῶν Ἀθηνέων ῥηχῶ ἐπέ-  
φρακτο· οἱ μὲν δὴ κατὰ τὸν φραγμὸν συνεβάλλ- 10  
λουντο τοῦτο τὸ ξύλινον τεῖχος εἶναι, οἱ δ' αὖ  
ἔλεγον τὰς νέας σημαίνειν τὸν θεόν, καὶ ταύτας  
παραρτέεσθαι ἐκέλευον τὰ ἄλλα ἀπέντας. τοὺς  
ὦν δὴ τὰς νέας λέγοντας εἶναι τὸ ξύλινον τεῖχος  
ἔσφαλλε τὰ δύο τὰ τελευταῖα ῥηθέντα ὑπὸ τῆς 15  
Πυθίης·

ᾧ θεῇ Σαλαμῖς, ἀπολείς δὲ σὺ τέκνα γυναικῶν,  
ἧ που σκιδναμένης Δημήτερος ἧ συνιούσης.

κατὰ ταῦτα τὰ ἔπεα συνεχέοντο αἱ γινῶμαι τῶν  
φαιμένων τὰς νέας τὸ ξύλινον τεῖχος εἶναι. οἱ γὰρ 20  
χρησμολόγοι ταύτῃ ταῦτα ἐλάμβανον, ὥς ἀμφὶ  
Σαλαμίνα δεῖ σφέας ἐσσωθῆναι, ναυμαχίην παρα-  
143 σκευασαμένους. Ἦν δὲ τῶν τις Ἀθηναίων ἀνὴρ  
ἐς πρώτους νεωστὶ παριῶν, τῷ οὐνομα  
μὲν ἦν Θεμιστοκλῆς, παῖς δὲ Νεοκλέος  
ἐκαλέετο. οὗτος ὠνήρ οὐκ ἔφη πᾶν  
ὀρθῶς τοὺς χρησμολόγους συμβάλλεσθαι, λέγων 5  
τοιαδε· Εἰ ἐς Ἀθηναίους εἶχε τὸ ἔπος εἰρη-  
μένον ἐόντως, οὐκ ἂν οὕτω μιν δοκέειν ἠπίως  
χρησθῆναι, ἀλλὰ ᾧδε, ᾧ Σαλαμῖς,

Explanation  
of Themisto-  
cles.

ἀντὶ τοῦ ὦ θεῖη Σαλαμὶς· εἶπερ γε ἔμελλον οἱ  
 10 οἰκήτορες ἀμφ' αὐτῇ τελευτήσκειν. ἀλλὰ γὰρ ἐς  
 τοὺς πολεμίους τῷ θεῷ εἰρήσθαι τὸ χρηστήριον,  
 συλλαμβάνοντι κατὰ τὸ ὀρθόν, ἀλλ' οὐκ ἐς Ἀθη-  
 ναίους. παρασκευάζεσθαι ὦν αὐτοὺς ὡς ναυμαχή-  
 σοντας συνεβούλευε, ὡς τούτου ἔοντος τοῦ ξυλίνου  
 15 τείχεος. Ταύτῃ Θεμιστοκλέος ἀποφαινομένου,  
 Ἀθηναῖοι ταῦτά σφι ἔγνωσαν αἰρετώτερα εἶναι  
 μᾶλλον ἢ τὰ τῶν χρησμολόγων, οἳ οὐκ ἔων ναυ-  
 μαχίην ἀρτέεσθαι, τὸ δὲ σύμπαν εἶναι, οὐδὲ χεῖρας  
 ἀνταείρεσθαι, ἀλλὰ ἐκλιπόντας χώρην τὴν Ἀττι-  
 κὴν ἄλλην τινὰ οἰκίζειν. Ἑτέρῃ τε Θεμιστο- 144  
 κλεῖ γνώμη ἔμπροσθε ταύτης ἐς καιρὸν  
 ἠρίστευσε, ὅτε Ἀθηναίοισι γενομένων  
 χρημάτων μεγάλων ἐν τῷ κοινῷ, τὰ  
 5 ἐκ τῶν μετάλλων σφι προσῆλθε τῶν ἀπὸ Λαυ-  
 ρείου, ἔμελλον λάξεσθαι ὀρχηδὸν ἕκαστος δέκα  
 δραχμάς· τότε Θεμιστοκλέης ἀνέγνωσε Ἀθη-  
 ναίους, τῆς διαιρέσιος ταύτης παυσαμένους, νέας  
 τούτων τῶν χρημάτων ποιήσασθαι διηκοσίας ἐς  
 10 τὸν πόλεμον, τὸν πρὸς Αἰγινήτας λέγων. οὗτος  
 γὰρ ὁ πόλεμος συστὰς ἔσωσε τότε τὴν Ἑλλάδα,  
 ἀναγκάσας θαλασσίους γενέσθαι Ἀθηναίους. αἱ  
 δὲ, ἐς τὸ μὲν ἐποικήθησαν, οὐκ ἐχρήσθησαν· ἐς  
 δέον δὲ οὕτω τῇ Ἑλλάδι ἐγένοντο. Αὐταί τε δὴ  
 15 αἱ νέες τοῖσι Ἀθηναίοισι προποιοθεῖσαι ὑπῆρχον,  
 ἑτέρας τε ἔδεε προσναυπηγέεσθαι. ἔδοξέ τε σφι  
 μετὰ τὸ χρηστήριον βουλευομένοισι, ἐπιόντα ἐπὶ  
 τὴν Ἑλλάδα τὸν βάρβαρον δέκεσθαι τῇσι νηυσὶ  
 πανδημεῖ, τῷ θεῷ πειθομένους, ἅμα Ἑλλήνων

His policy :  
 creation of  
 an Athenian  
 fleet, B.C. 482.



τοῖσι βουλομένοισι. τὰ μὲν δὴ χρηστήρια ταῦτα 20  
τοῖσι Ἀθηναίοισι ἐγεγόνεε.

145 Συλλεγομένων δὲ ἐς τὸν τῶν περὶ τὴν  
Ἑλλάδα Ἑλλήνων [τῶν] τὰ ἀμείνω φρο-  
νούντων, καὶ διδόντων σφίσι λόγον καὶ  
πίστιν, ἐνθαῦτα ἐδόκεε βουλευομένοισι  
αὐτοῖσι πρῶτον μὲν χρημάτων πάντων καταλλάσ- 5  
σεσθαι τὰς τε ἔχθρας καὶ τοὺς κατ' ἀλλήλους  
έοντας πολέμους. ἦσαν δὲ πρὸς τινὰς καὶ ἄλλους  
ἐγκεκρημένοι, ὁ δὲ ὢν μέγιστος Ἀθηναίοισι τε καὶ  
Αἰγινήτησι. μετὰ δὲ πυνθανόμενοι Ξέρξεα σὺν τῷ  
στρατῷ εἶναι ἐν Σάρδισι, ἐβουλεύσαντο κατασκό- 10  
πους πέμπειν ἐς τὴν Ἀσίην τῶν βασιλέος πρηγ-  
μάτων, ἐς Ἄργος τε ἀγγέλους ὁμαιχμίην συνθη-  
σομένους πρὸς τὸν Πέρσην, καὶ ἐς Σικελίην ἄλλους  
πέμπειν παρὰ Γέλωνα τὸν Δεινομένεος, ἐς τε Κέρ-  
κυραν, κελεύσοντας βοηθέειν τῇ Ἑλλάδι, καὶ ἐς 15  
Κρήτην ἄλλους, φρονήσαντες εἴ πως ἔν τε γένοιτο  
τὸ Ἑλληνικὸν, καὶ εἰ συγκύψαντες τῷ τῷ πρήσ-  
σοιεν πάντες, ὥς δεινῶν ἐπιόντων ὁμοίως πᾶσι  
Ἑλλησι. τὰ δὲ Γέλωνος πρήγματα μεγάλα ἐλέ-  
γετο εἶναι, οὐδαμῶν Ἑλληνικῶν τῶν οὐ πολλὸν 20

146 μέζω. Ὡς δὲ ταῦτά σφι ἔδοξε, καταλυσάμενοι

Mission of  
spies to Asia;  
magnanimity  
of Xerxes.

τὰς ἔχθρας, πρῶτα μὲν κατασκόπους  
πέμπουσι ἐς τὴν Ἀσίην ἄνδρας τρεῖς.  
οἱ δὲ ἀπικόμενοί τε ἐς Σάρδεις καὶ κατα-  
μαθόντες τὴν βασιλέος στρατιὴν, ὥς ἐπαῖστοι ἐγέ- 5  
νοντο, βασανισθέντες ὑπὸ τῶν στρατηγῶν τοῦ  
πεζοῦ στρατοῦ, ἀπήγοντο ὥς ἀπολεύμενοι. καὶ  
τοῖσι μὲν κατακέκριτο θάνατος. Ξέρξης δὲ ὥς

ἐπύθετο ταῦτα, μεμφθεὶς τῶν στρατηγῶν τὴν  
 10 γνώμην, πέμπει τῶν τινας δορυφόρων, ἐντειλάμε-  
 νος, ἣν καταλάβωσι τοὺς κατασκόπους ζῶντας,  
 ἄγειν παρ' ἐωυτόν. ὥς δὲ ἔτι περιέοντας αὐτοὺς  
 κατέλαβον, καὶ ἦγον ἐς ὄψιν τὴν βασιλέως, τὸ  
 ἐνθεύτεν πυθόμενος ἐπ' οἷσι ἦλθον, ἐκέλευέ σφεας  
 15 τοὺς δορυφόρους περιάγοντας ἐπιδείκνυσθαι πάντα  
 τε τὸν πεζὸν στρατὸν καὶ τὴν ἵππον· ἐπεὰν δὲ  
 ταῦτα θηεύμενοι ἔωσι πλήρεις, ἀποπέμπειν ἐς τὴν  
 ἂν αὐτοὶ ἐθέλωσι χώρην ἀσινέας. Ἐπιλέγων δὲ 147  
 τὸν λόγον τόνδε ταῦτα ἐνετέλλετο, ὥς, εἰ  
 μὲν ἀπώλονται οἱ κατάσκοποι, οὔτε ἂν τὰ  
 ἐωυτοῦ πρήγματα προεπύθοντο οἱ Ἑλ-  
 5 ληνες, ἔοντα λόγου μέζω, οὔτ' ἂν τι τοὺς πολε-  
 μίους μέγα ἐσίναντο, ἄνδρας τρεῖς ἀπολέσαντες·  
 νοστησάντων δὲ τούτων ἐς τὴν Ἑλλάδα, δοκέειν,  
 ἔφη, ἀκούσαντας τοὺς Ἑλληνας τὰ ἐωυτοῦ πρήγ-  
 ματα, πρὸ τοῦ στόλου τοῦ γινομένου παραδώσειν  
 10 σφέας τὴν ἰδίην ἐλευθερίην, καὶ οὔτω οὐδὲ δεήσειν  
 ἐπ' αὐτοὺς στρατηλατέοντας πρήγματα ἔχειν.  
 Οἶκε δὲ αὐτοῦ αὕτη ἡ γνώμη τῇ γε ἄλλῃ· ἐὼν γὰρ  
 ἐν Ἀβύδῳ ὁ Ξέρξης εἶδε πλοῖα ἐκ τοῦ Πόντου  
 σιταγωγὰ διεκπλώνοντα τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον, ἔς τε  
 15 Αἰγίναν καὶ Πελοπόννησον κομιζόμενα. οἱ μὲν δὴ  
 πάρεδροι αὐτοῦ, ὥς ἐπύθοντο πολέμια εἶναι τὰ  
 πλοῖα, ἐτοῖμοι ἦσαν αἰρέειν αὐτὰ, ἐσβλέποντες ἐς  
 τὸν βασιλέα, ὁκότε παραγγελέει. ὁ δὲ Ξέρξης  
 εἶρετο αὐτοὺς, ὅκη πλέοιεν· οἱ δὲ εἶπαν· Ἐς  
 20 τοὺς σοὺς πολεμίους, ὧ δέσποτα, σίτον ἄγοντες.  
 ὁ δὲ ὑπολαβὼν ἔφη, Οὐκ ὦν καὶ ἡμεῖς ἐκεῖ πλέομεν,

Similar con-  
 duct on a  
 previous  
 occasion.

ἔνθαπερ καὶ οὗτοι, τοῖσί τε ἄλλοισι ἐξηρτυμένοι  
καὶ σίτῳ; τί δῆτα ἀδικέουσι οὗτοι, ἡμῖν σιτία  
παρακομίζοντες; Οἱ μὲν νυν κατάσκοποι, οὕτω  
θησάμενοί τε καὶ ἀποπεμφθέντες, ἐνόστησαν ἐς 25  
τὴν Εὐρώπην.

148 Οἱ δὲ συνωμόται Ἑλλήνων ἐπὶ τῷ Πέρσῃ  
μετὰ τὴν ἀπόπεμψιν τῶν κατασκόπων  
δεύτερα ἔπεμπον ἐς Ἄργος ἀγγέλους.  
Ἄργεῖοι δὲ λέγουσι τὰ κατ' ἐωυτοὺς γε-  
νέσθαι ὧδε· πυθέσθαι γὰρ αὐτίκα κατ' 5  
ἀρχὰς τὰ ἐκ τοῦ βαρβάρου ἐγειρόμενα ἐπὶ τὴν  
Ἑλλάδα. πυθόμενοι δὲ καὶ μαθόντες, ὥς σφεας  
οἱ Ἕλληνες πειρήσονται παραλαμβάνοντες ἐπὶ  
τὸν Πέρσῃν, πέμψαι θεοπρόπους ἐς Δελφοὺς, τὸν  
θεὸν ἐπειρησομένους, ὥς σφι μέλλει ἄριστον 10  
ποιεῦσι γενέσθαι· νεωστὶ γὰρ σφέων τεθνάναι  
ἐξακισχιλίους ὑπὸ Λακεδαιμονίων καὶ Κλεομένεος  
τοῦ Ἀναξανδρίδεω. τῶνδε δὴ εἵνεκα πέμπειν·  
τὴν δὲ Πυθίην ἐπειρωτῶσι αὐτοῖσι ἀνελεῖν τάδε·

Ἐχθρὲ περικτιόνεσσι, φίλ' ἀθανάτοισι θεοῖσι, 15  
εἴσω τὸν προβόλαιον ἔχων, πεφυλαγμένος ἦσο,  
καὶ κεφαλὴν πεφύλαξο· κάρη δὲ τὸ σῶμα σαώσει.

ταῦτα μὲν τὴν Πυθίην χρῆσαι πρότερον· μετὰ  
δὲ, ὥς ἐλθεῖν τοὺς ἀγγέλους ἐς δὴ τὸ Ἄργος, ἐπελ-  
θεῖν ἐπὶ τὸ βουλευτήριον, καὶ λέγειν τὰ ἐντεταλ- 20  
μένα. τοὺς δὲ πρὸς τὰ λεγόμενα ὑποκρίνασθαι,  
ὥς ἐτοῖμοί εἰσι Ἄργεῖοι ποιεῖν ταῦτα, τριήκοντα  
ἔτεα εἰρήνην σπείσάμενοι Λακεδαιμονίοισι, καὶ  
ἡγεόμενοι κατὰ τὸ ἥμισυ πάσης τῆς συμμαχίας·  
καὶ τοι κατὰ γε τὸ δίκαιον γίνεσθαι τὴν ἡγεμονίην 25

Embassy to  
Argos: warn-  
ing from  
Delphi. Ar-  
give demands.

ἐωυτῶν, ἀλλ' ὅμως σφι ἀποχρᾶν κατὰ τὸ ἥμισυ  
 ἡγεομένοισι. Ταῦτα μὲν λέγουσι τὴν βουλὴν ὑποκρί- 149  
 νασθαι, καί περ ἀπαγορεύοντός σφι τοῦ  
 χρηστηρίου, μὴ ποιέεσθαι τὴν πρὸς τοὺς Reply of the  
Spartan  
envoys.  
 Ἕλληνας συμμαχίην· σπουδὴν δὲ ἔχειν,  
 5 σπονδὰς γενέσθαι τριηκοντοέτιδας καί περ τὸ  
 χρηστήριον φοβεομένοισι, ἵνα δὴ σφι οἱ παῖδες  
 ἀνδρωθέωσι ἐν τούτοισι τοῖσι ἔτεσι· μὴ δὲ σπον-  
 δέων ἐουσέων, ἐπιλέγεσθαι, ἣν ἄρα σφέας κατα-  
 λάβη πρὸς τῷ γεγονότι κακῷ ἄλλο πταῖσμα πρὸς  
 10 τὸν Πέρσην, μὴ τὸ λοιπὸν ἔωσι Λακεδαιμονίων  
 ὑπήκοοι. Τῶν δὲ ἀγγέλων τοὺς ἀπὸ τῆς Σπάρτης  
 πρὸς τὰ ῥηθέντα ἐκ τῆς βουλῆς ἀμείψασθαι τοι-  
 σίδε· περὶ μὲν σπονδέων ἀνοίσειν ἐς τοὺς πλεῦ-  
 νας· περὶ δὲ ἡγεμονίης αὐτοῖσι ἐντετάλθαι ὑπο-  
 15 κρίνασθαι, καὶ δὴ λέγειν, σφίσι μὲν εἶναι δύο  
 βασιλέας, Ἀργείοισι δὲ ἓνα· οὐκ ὦν δυνατὸν  
 εἶναι τῶν ἐκ Σπάρτης οὐδέτερον παῦσαι τῆς  
 ἡγεμονίης. μετὰ δὲ δύο τῶν σφετέρων ὁμόψηφον  
 τὸν Ἀργεῖον εἶναι, κωλύειν οὐδέν. Οὕτω δὴ οἱ  
 20 Ἀργεῖοί φασι οὐκ ἀνασχέσθαι τῶν Σπαρτιητέων  
 τὴν πλεονεξίην, ἀλλ' ἐλέσθαι μᾶλλον ὑπὸ τῶν  
 βαρβάρων ἄρχεσθαι, ἢ τι ὑπεῖξαι Λακεδαιμονίοισι·  
 προειπεῖν τε τοῖσι ἀγγέλοισι, πρὸ δύντος ἡλίου  
 ἀπαλλάσσεσθαι ἐκ τῆς Ἀργείων χώρας· εἰ δὲ μὴ,  
 περιέψεσθαι ὡς πολεμίους. Αὐτοὶ μὲν Ἀργεῖοι 150  
 τοσαῦτα τούτων πέρι λέγουσι. Ἔστι δὲ  
 ἄλλος λόγος λεγόμενος ἀνὰ τὴν Ἑλλάδα,  
 ὡς Ξέρξης ἔπεμψε κήρυκα ἐς Ἀργος,  
 5 πρότερον ἢ περ ὀρμήσαι στρατεύεσθαι.

Another  
 account:  
 message  
 from Xerxes  
 to Argos.



ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα. ἐλθόντα δὲ τοῦτον λέγεται  
 εἶπαι· Ἄνδρες Ἀργεῖοι, βασιλεὺς Ξέρξης τάδε  
 ὑμῖν λέγει. Ἡμεῖς νομίζομεν Πέρσῃν εἶναι, ἀπ'  
 οὗ ἡμεῖς γεγόναμεν, παῖδα Περσέος τοῦ Δανάης,  
 γεγονότα ἐκ τῆς Κηφέας θυγατρὸς Ἀνδρομέδης. 10  
 οὕτω ἂν ὦν εἶημεν ὑμέτεροι ἀπόγονοι. οὔτε ὦν  
 ἡμέας οἶκος ἐπὶ τοὺς ἡμετέρους προγόνους ἐκστρα-  
 τεύεσθαι, οὔτε ὑμέας ἄλλοισι τιμωρέοντας ἡμῖν  
 ἀντιξόους γενέσθαι, ἀλλὰ παρ' ὑμῖν αὐτοῖσι  
 ἡσυχίην ἔχοντας κατῆσθαι. ἦν γὰρ ἐμοὶ γένηται 15  
 κατὰ νόον, οὐδαμοὺς μέζονας ὑμέων ἄξω. Ταῦτα  
 ἀκούσαντας Ἀργεῖους λέγεται πρῆγμα ποιήσασ-  
 θαι, καὶ παραχρῆμα μὲν οὐδὲν ἐπαγγελλομένους  
 μεταιτέειν· ἐπεὶ δέ σφεας παραλαμβάνειν τοὺς  
 Ἕλληνας, οὕτω δὲ ἐπισταμένους ὅτι οὐ μεταδώ- 20  
 σουσι τῆς ἀρχῆς Λακεδαιμόνιοι μεταιτέειν, ἵνα  
 151 ἐπὶ προφάσιος ἡσυχίην ἄγωσι. Συμπεσεῖν δὲ  
 τούτοις καὶ τόνδε τὸν λόγον λέγουσί  
 τινες Ἑλλήνων, πολλοῖσι ἔτεσι ὕστε-  
 ρον γενόμενον τούτων. τυχεῖν ἐν Σού-  
 σοις τοῖσι Μεμνονίοις ἔοντας ἑτέρου πρῆγμα- 5  
 τος εἵνεκα ἀγγέλους Ἀθηναίων, Καλλίην τε τὸν  
 Ἴππονίκου καὶ τοὺς μετὰ τούτου ἀναβάντας. Ἀρ-  
 γεῖους δὲ, τὸν αὐτὸν τοῦτον χρόνον πέμψαντας  
 καὶ τούτους ἐς Σοῦσα ἀγγέλους, εἰρωτᾶν Ἀρταξέρ-  
 ξεα τὸν Ξέρξεω, εἴ σφί ἔτι ἐμμένει, τὴν πρὸς 10  
 Ξέρξεα φιλίην συνεκεράσαντο, ἣ νομιζόλατο πρὸς  
 αὐτοῦ εἶναι πολέμιοι. βασιλέα δὲ Ἀρταξέρξεα,  
 μάλιστα ἐμμένειν φάιναι, καὶ οὐδεμίαν νομίζειν  
 152 πόλιν Ἀργεος φιλιωτέραν. Εἰ μὲν νυν Ξέρξης τε

Subsequent  
 recognition  
 of an  
 alliance.

ἀπέπεμψε ταῦτα λέγοντα κήρυκα ἐς Ἄργος, καὶ Ἀργείων ἄγγελοι ἀναβάντες ἐς Σοῦσα ἐπειρώτων Ἀρταξέρξεα περὶ φιλίης, οὐκ ἔχω ἀτρεκέως εἶπαι· οὐδέ τινα γνώμην περὶ αὐτῶν ἀποφαίνομαι ἄλλην γε ἢ τὴν περ αὐτοὶ Ἀργεῖοι λέγουσι. Ἐπίσταμαι δὲ τοσοῦτο, ὅτι, εἰ πάντες ἄνθρωποι τὰ οἰκήϊα κακὰ ἐς μέσον συνενεΐκαιεν, ἀλλάξασθαι βουλόμενοι τοῖσι πλησίοις, ἐγκύψαντες ἂν ἐς τὰ τῶν πέλας κακὰ, ἀσπασίως ἕκαστοι αὐτῶν ἀποφεροίατο ὀπίσω τὰ ἐσενείκαντο. οὕτω δὴ οὐκ Ἀργεῖοις αἴσχιστα πεποιήται. Ἐγὼ δὲ ὀφείλω λέγειν τὰ λεγόμενα, πείθεσθαι γε μὲν ὦν οὐ παντάπασι ὀφείλω· καί μοι τοῦτο τὸ ἔπος ἐχέτω ἐς πάντα τὸν λόγον, ἐπεὶ καὶ ταῦτα λέγεται, ὥς ἄρα Ἀργεῖοι ἦσαν οἱ ἐπικαλεσάμενοι τὸν Πέρσην ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα, ἐπειδὴ σφι πρὸς τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους κακῶς ἡ αἰχμὴ ἐστήκεε, πᾶν δὴ βουλόμενοί σφι εἶναι πρὸ τῆς παρεούσης λύπης. Τὰ μὲν περὶ Ἀργείων εἴρηται.

Reflections of Herodotus on this question.

Ἐς δὲ τὴν Σικελίην ἄλλοι τε ἀπίκατο ἄγγελοι ἀπὸ τῶν συμμάχων, συμμίζοντες Γέλωνι, καὶ δὴ καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων Σύαγρος. Τοῦ δὲ Γέλωνος τούτου πρόγονος, οἰκῆτωρ ὁ ἐν Γέλῃ, ἣν ἐκ νήσου Τήλου τῆς ἐπὶ Τριοπίῳ κειμένης, ὃς κτιζομένης Γέλῃς ὑπὸ Λινδίων τε τῶν ἐκ Ῥόδου καὶ Ἀντιφήμου οὐκ ἐλείφθη. ἀνὰ χρόνον δὲ αὐτοῦ οἱ ἀπόγονοι γενόμενοι ἱροφάνται τῶν χθονίων θεῶν διετέλεον ἑόντες, Τηλίνεω, ἐνός τευ τῶν προγόνων, κτησαμένου τρόπῳ τοιῷδε. Ἐς Μακτώριον πόλιν τὴν

Embassy to Sicily. Family history of Gelo.

ὑπὲρ Γέλῃς οἰκημένην ἔφυγον ἄνδρες Γελῶων,  
 ἐσσωθέντες στάσι. τούτους ὦν ὁ Τηλίνης κατή-  
 γαγε ἐς Γέλην, ἔχων οὐδεμίαν ἀνδρῶν δύναμιν,  
 ἀλλ' ἰρὰ τούτων τῶν θεῶν. ὅθεν δὲ αὐτὰ ἔλαβε ἡ 15  
 αὐτὸς ἐκτήσατο, τοῦτο οὐκ ἔχω εἶπαι. τούτοισι δ'  
 ὦν πίσυνος ἐὼν κατήγαγε, ἐπ' ᾧ τε οἱ ἀπόγονοι  
 αὐτοῦ ἱροφάνται τῶν θεῶν ἔσονται. θωῦμά μοι  
 ὦν καὶ τοῦτο γέγονε πρὸς τὰ πυνθάνομαι, κατεργά-  
 σασθαι Τηλίνην ἔργον τοσοῦτον· τὰ τοιαῦτα γὰρ 20  
 ἔργα οὐ πρὸς τοῦ ἅπαντος ἀνδρὸς νενόμικα γενέ-  
 σθαι, ἀλλὰ πρὸς ψυχῆς τε ἀγαθῆς καὶ ῥώμης  
 ἀνδρητῆς· ὁ δὲ λέγεται πρὸς τῆς Σικελίης τῶν  
 οἰκητόρων τὰ ὑπεναντία τούτων πεφυκέναι θηλυ-  
 δρίης τε καὶ μαλακώτερος ἀνὴρ. οὕτω μὲν νυν 25

154

ἐκτήσατο τοῦτο τὸ γέρας. Κλεάνδρου  
 δὲ τοῦ Παντάρεος τελευτήσαντος τὸν  
 βίον, ὃς ἐτυράννευσε μὲν Γέλῃς ἐπτὰ  
 ἔτεα, ἀπέθανε δὲ ὑπὸ Σαβύλλου, ἀν-  
 δρὸς Γελῶου, ἐνθαῦτα ἀναλαμβάνει τὴν μου- 5  
 ναρχίην Ἰπποκράτης, Κλεάνδρου ἐὼν ἀδελφεός.  
 ἔχοντος δὲ Ἰπποκράτεος τὴν τυραννίδα ὁ Γέλων,  
 ἐὼν Τηλίνεω τοῦ ἱροφάντεω ἀπόγονος, πολλῶν  
 μετ' ἄλλων καὶ Αἰνησιδήμου τοῦ Παταϊκοῦ, ὃς ἦν  
 δορυφόρος Ἰπποκράτεος . . . . . μετὰ δὲ οὐ πολλὸν 10  
 χρόνον δι' ἀρετὴν ἀπεδέχθη πάσης τῆς ἵππου εἶναι  
 ἵππαρχος. πολιορκέοντος γὰρ Ἰπποκράτεος Καλ-  
 λιπολίτας τε καὶ Ναξίους καὶ Ζαγκλαίους τε καὶ  
 Λεοντίνους καὶ πρὸς Συρηκουσίους τε καὶ τῶν  
 βαρβάρων συχνοὺς, ἀνὴρ ἐφαίνετο ἐν τούτοισι 15  
 τοῖσι πολέμοισι ἐὼν ὁ Γέλων λαμπρότατος. τῶν

He gains dis-  
 tinction un-  
 der Hippo-  
 crates of Gela.

δὲ εἶπον πολίων τουτέων πλὴν Συρηκουσέων  
 οὐδεμία πέφευγε δουλοσύνην πρὸς Ἴπποκράτεος.  
 Συρηκουσίους δὲ Κορίνθιοί τε καὶ Κερκυραῖοι  
 ἐρρύσαντο, μάχῃ ἐσσωθέντας ἐπὶ ποταμῷ Ἐλώρῳ.  
 ἐρρύσαντο δὲ οὗτοι, ἐπὶ τοισίδε καταλλάξαντες,  
 ἐπ' ᾧ τε Ἴπποκράτει Καμάριναν Συρηκουσίους  
 παραδοῦναι. Συρηκουσίων δὲ ἦν Καμάρινα τὸ  
 ἀρχαῖον. Ὡς δὲ καὶ Ἴπποκράτεια, τυραννεύσαντα 155  
 ἴσα ἔτεα τῷ ἀδελφεῷ Κλεάνδρῳ, κατέ-  
 λαβε ἀποθανεῖν πρὸς πόλιν Ὑβλη, στρα-  
 τευσάμενον ἐπὶ τοὺς Σικελοὺς, οὕτω δὲ  
 5 ὁ Γέλων, τῷ λόγῳ τιμωρέων τοῖσι Ἴππο-  
 κράτεος παισὶ Εὐκλείδῃ τε καὶ Κλεάνδρῳ, οὐ  
 βουλομένων τῶν πολιητέων κατηκόων ἔτι εἶναι,  
 τῷ ἔργῳ, ὡς ἐπεκράτησε μάχῃ τῶν Γελῶν,  
 ἦρχε αὐτὸς, ἀποστερήσας τοὺς Ἴπποκράτεος  
 10 παῖδας. μετὰ δὲ τοῦτο τὸ εὔρημα, τοὺς γαμόρους  
 καλεομένους τῶν Συρηκουσίων ἐκπεσόντας ὑπὸ τε  
 τοῦ δήμου καὶ τῶν σφετέρων δούλων, καλεομένων  
 δὲ Κυλλυρίων, ὁ Γέλων καταγαγὼν τούτους ἐκ  
 Κασμένης πόλιος ἐς τὰς Συρηκούσας, ἔσχε καὶ  
 15 ταύτας. ὁ γὰρ δῆμος ὁ τῶν Συρηκουσίων ἐπιόντι  
 Γέλωνι παραδιδοῖ τὴν πόλιν καὶ ἑωυτόν. Ὁ δὲ 156  
 ἐπεὶ τε παρέλαβε τὰς Συρηκούσας,  
 Γέλῃς μὲν ἐπικρατέων λόγον ἐλάσσω  
 ἐποιέετο, ἐπιτρέψας αὐτὴν Ἰέρωνι ἀδελ-  
 5 φῷ ἑωυτοῦ. ὁ δὲ τὰς Συρηκούσας ἐκράτυνε, καὶ  
 ἦσαν ἅπαντα αἱ Συρήκουσαι. αἱ δὲ παραυτίκα  
 ἀνά τ' ἔδραμον καὶ ἀνέβλαστον. τοῦτο μὲν γὰρ  
 Καμαριναίους ἅπαντας ἐς τὰς Συρηκούσας ἀγαγὼν

He succeeds  
 to the tyrann-  
 ny, and wins  
 Syracuse, B.C.  
 491.

Rise of Syra-  
 cuse; policy  
 of Gelo.



πολιήτας ἐποίησε, Καμαρίνης δὲ τὸ ἄστυ κατέ-  
 σκαψε· τοῦτο δὲ Γελῶν ὑπερῆμίσεας τῶν ἀστών 10  
 τώντῳ τοῖσι Καμαριναίοισι ἐποίησε. Μεγαρέας τε  
 τοὺς ἐν Σικελίῃ, ὡς πολιορκεόμενοι ἐς ὁμολογίην  
 προσεχώρησαν, τοὺς μὲν αὐτῶν παχέας ἀειραμέ-  
 νους τε πόλεμον αὐτῷ, καὶ προσδοκέοντας ἀπο-  
 λέεσθαι διὰ τοῦτο, ἄγων ἐς τὰς Συρηκούσας 15  
 πολιήτας ἐποίησε· τὸν δὲ δῆμον τῶν Μεγαρέων,  
 οὐκ ἔοντα μεταίτιον τοῦ πολέμου τούτου, οὐδὲ  
 προσδεκόμενον κακὸν οὐδὲν πείσεσθαι, ἀγαγὼν  
 καὶ τούτους ἐς τὰς Συρηκούσας, ἀπέδοτο ἐπ’  
 ἐξαγωγῇ ἐκ Σικελίης. τώντῳ δὲ τοῦτο καὶ Εὐβοέας 20  
 τοὺς ἐν Σικελίῃ ἐποίησε διακρίνας. ἐποίεε δὲ  
 ταῦτα τούτους ἀμφοτέρους, νομίσας δῆμον εἶναι  
 συνοίκημα ἀχαριτώτατον. Τοιούτῳ μὲν τρόπῳ  
 τύραννος ἐγεγόνεε μέγας ὁ Γέλων.

- 157 Τότε δὲ, ὡς οἱ ἄγγελοι τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἀπὶ κατο  
 ἐς τὰς Συρηκούσας, ἐλθόντες αὐτῷ ἐς  
 λόγους, ἔλεγον τάδε· Ἐπεμψαν ἡμέας  
 Λακεδαιμόνιοί τε καὶ οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι, καὶ  
 οἱ τούτων σύμμαχοι, παραλαμψομένους σε πρὸς 5  
 τὸν βάρβαρον· τὸν γὰρ ἐπιόντα ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα  
 πάντως κου πυνθάνεαι, ὅτι Πέρσης ἀνὴρ μέλλει,  
 ζεύξας τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον, καὶ ἐπάγων πάντα τὸν  
 ἡοῖον στρατὸν ἐκ τῆς Ἀσίης, στρατηλατήσκειν ἐπὶ  
 τὴν Ἑλλάδα, πρόσχημα μὲν ποιούμενος, ὡς ἐπ’ 10  
 Ἀθήνας ἐλαύνει, ἐν νόῳ δὲ ἔχων πᾶσαν τὴν Ἑλ-  
 λάδα ὑπ’ ἐωυτῷ ποιήσασθαι. Σὺ δὲ δυνάμιός τε  
 ἥκεις μεγάλης, καὶ μοῖρά τοι τῆς Ἑλλάδος οὐκ  
 ἐλαχίστη μέτα, ἄρχοντί γε Σικελίης· βοήθει τε

Speech of the  
 Greek en-  
 voys.

15 τοῖσι ἐλευθεροῦσι τὴν Ἑλλάδα καὶ συνελευθέρου.  
 ἀλῆς μὲν γὰρ γενομένη πᾶσα ἡ Ἑλλάς, χεὶρ  
 μεγάλη συνάγεται, καὶ ἀξιόμαχοι γινόμεθα τοῖσι  
 ἐπιοῦσι· ἦν δὲ ἡμέων οἱ μὲν καταπροδιδῶσι, οἱ  
 δὲ μὴ θέλωσι τιμωρέειν, τὸ δὲ ὑγιαῖνον τῆς Ἑλλά-  
 20 δος ἢ ὀλίγον, τοῦτο δὴ ἤδη δεινὸν γίνεται, μὴ πέσῃ  
 πᾶσα ἡ Ἑλλάς. Μὴ γὰρ ἐλπίσης, ἦν ἡμέας κατα-  
 στρέψῃται ὁ Πέρσης μάχῃ κρατήσας, ὥς οὐκ ἤξει  
 παρὰ σέ γε, ἀλλὰ πρὸ τούτου φύλαξαι, βοηθέων  
 γὰρ ἡμῖν σεωυτῷ τιμωρέεις. τῷ δὲ εὖ βουλευθέντι  
 25 πρήγματι τελευτῇ ὥς τὸ ἐπίπαν χρηστὴ ἐθέλει  
 ἐπιγίνεσθαι. Οἱ μὲν ταῦτα ἔλεγον. Γέλων δὲ 158  
 πολλὸς ἐνέκειτο λέγων τοιάδε· Ἄνδρες  
 Ἕλληνες, λόγον ἔχοντες πλεονέκτην  
 ἐτολμήσατε ἐμὲ σύμμαχον ἐπὶ τὸν βάρ-  
 5 βαρον παρακαλέοντες ἐλθεῖν. αὐτοὶ δὲ, ἐμεῦ  
 πρότερον δεηθέντος βαρβαρικοῦ στρατοῦ συνεπά-  
 ψασθαι, ὅτε μοι πρὸς Καρχηδονίους νεῖκος συν-  
 ἦπτο, ἐπισκῆπτοντός τε τὸν Δωριέος τοῦ Ἀναξ-  
 ανδρίδew πρὸς Ἑγεσταίων φόνον ἐκπρήξασθαι,  
 10 ὑποτείνοντός τε τὰ ἐμπόρια συνελευθεροῦν, ἀπ’  
 ὧν ὑμῖν μεγάλαι ὠφελίαι τε καὶ ἐπαυρέσιες γεγόν-  
 νασι, οὔτε ἐμεῦ εἵνεκα ἦλθετε βοηθήσοντες, οὔτε  
 τὸν Δωριέος φόνον ἐκπρηξόμενοι· τὸ δὲ κατ’  
 ὑμέας τάδε ἅπαντα ὑπὸ βαρβάροισι νέμεται.  
 15 ἀλλὰ εὖ γὰρ ἡμῖν καὶ ἐπὶ τὸ ἄμεινον κατέστη·  
 νῦν δὲ, ἐπειδὴ περιελήλυθε ὁ πόλεμος καὶ ἀπῖκται  
 ἐς ὑμέας, οὔτω δὴ Γέλωνος μνηστis γέγονε. Ἀτι-  
 μίης δὲ πρὸς ὑμέων κυρήσας οὐκ ὁμοιώσομαι ὑμῖν,  
 ἀλλ’ ἐτοῖμός εἰμι βοηθεῖν, παρεχόμενος διηκοσίας

Reply of  
 Gelo: his  
 offer and  
 demand.

τε τριήρεας, καὶ δισμυρίους ὀπλίτας, καὶ δισχιλίην 20  
 ἵππον, καὶ δισχιλίους τοξότας, καὶ δισχιλίους  
 σφενδονήτας, καὶ δισχιλίους ἵπποδρόμους ψιλούς·  
 σίτον τε ἀπάσῃ τῇ Ἑλλήνων στρατιῇ, ἔστ' ἂν  
 διαπολεμήσωμεν, ὑποδέκομαι παρέξειν. Ἐπὶ δὲ  
 λόγῳ τοιῷδε τάδε ὑπίσχομαι, ἐπ' ᾧ στρατηγός τε 25  
 καὶ ἡγεμὼν τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἔσομαι πρὸς τὸν βάρ-  
 βαρον· ἐπ' ἄλλῳ δὲ λόγῳ οὗτ' ἂν αὐτὸς ἔλθοιμι,  
 159 οὗτ' ἂν ἄλλους πέμψαιμι. Ταῦτα ἀκούσας οὔτε  
 ἠνέσχετο ὁ Σύναγρος εἰπέ τε τάδε· Ἡ  
 κε μέγ' οἰμώξειεν ὁ Πελοπίδης Ἀγαμέμ-  
 νων, πυθόμενος Σπαρτιήτας τὴν ἡγεμο-  
 νίην ἀπαραιρήσθαι ὑπὸ Γέλωνός τε καὶ Συρηκου- 5  
 σίων. ἀλλὰ τούτου μὲν τοῦ λόγου μηκέτι μνησθῆς,  
 ὅκως τὴν ἡγεμονίην τοι παραδώσομεν. ἀλλ', εἰ  
 μὲν βούλαιο βοηθέειν τῇ Ἑλλάδι, ἴσθι ἀρξόμενος  
 ὑπὸ Λακεδαιμονίων· εἰ δ' ἄρα μὴ δικαιοῖς ἀρχεσθαι,  
 160 σὺ δὲ μὴ βοηθέειν. Πρὸς ταῦτα ὁ  
 Γέλων, ἐπειδὴ ὥρα ἀπεστραμμένους τοὺς  
 λόγους τοῦ Σύναγρου, τὸν τελευταῖόν σφι  
 τόνδε ἐξέφηνε λόγον· ὦ ξεῖνε Σπαρτιήτα, ὀνειδέα  
 κατιόντα ἀνθρώπῳ φιλέει ἐπανάγειν τὸν θυμόν. 5  
 σὺ μέντοι, ἀποδεξάμενος ὑβρίσματα ἐν τῷ λόγῳ,  
 οὗ με ἔπεισας ἀσχήμονα ἐν τῇ ἀμοιβῇ γενέσθαι.  
 ὅκου δὲ ὑμεῖς οὕτω περιέχεσθε τῆς ἡγεμονίης,  
 οἰκὸς καὶ ἐμὲ μᾶλλον ὑμέων περιέχεσθαι, στρα-  
 τιῆς τε εἶντα πολλαπλασίης ἡγεμόνα καὶ νεῶν 10  
 πολὺν πλεύνων. Ἄλλ' ἐπεὶ τε ὑμῖν ὁ λόγος  
 οὕτω προσάντης κατίσταται, ἡμεῖς τι ὑπείξο-  
 μεν τοῦ ἀρχαίου λόγου. εἰ τοῦ μὲν πεζοῦ ὑμεῖς

Indignation  
of the Spar-  
tan envoy.

Second  
proposal of  
Gelo.

ἡγήοισθε, τοῦ δὲ ναυτικοῦ ἐγώ· εἰ δὲ ὑμῖν ἡδονὴ  
 15 τοῦ κατὰ θάλασσαν ἡγεμονεύειν, τοῦ πεζοῦ ἐγὼ  
 θέλω. καὶ ἡ τοῦτοις ὑμέας χρεῶν ἐστὶ ἀρέσκε-  
 σθαι, ἡ ἀπιέναι συμμάχων τοιῶνδε ἐρήμους. Γέλων  
 μὲν δὴ ταῦτα προετίνετο. Φθάσας δὲ ὁ Ἀθη- 161  
 ναίων ἄγγελος τὸν Λακεδαιμονίων ἀμεί-  
 βετό μιν τοισίδε· ὦ βασιλεῦ Συρη- Answer of  
the Athenian  
envoy.  
 κουσίων, οὐκ ἡγεμόνος δεομένη ἡ Ἑλλὰς  
 5 ἀπέπεμψεν ὑμέας πρὸς σέ, ἀλλὰ στρατιῆς. σὺ δέ,  
 ὅπως μὲν στρατιὴν πέμψεις μὴ ἡγεύμενος τῆς  
 Ἑλλάδος, οὐ προφαίνεις· ὥς δὲ στρατηγήσεις  
 αὐτῆς, γλίχεται· ὅσον μὲν νυν παντὸς τοῦ Ἑλλή-  
 νων στρατοῦ ἐδέου ἡγέεσθαι, ἐξήρκει ἡμῖν τοῖσι  
 10 Ἀθηναίοις ἡσυχίην ἄγειν, ἐπισταμένοις ὥς ὁ  
 Λάκων ἱκανὸς τοι ἔμελλε ἔσεσθαι καὶ ὑπὲρ ἀμφο-  
 τέρων ἀπολογεύμενος· ἐπεὶ τε δὲ ἀπάσης ἀπελαν-  
 νόμενος, δέεαι τῆς ναυτικῆς ἄρχειν, οὕτω ἔχει τοι.  
 οὐδ', ἣν ὁ Λάκων ἐπιῇ τοι ἄρχειν αὐτῆς, ἡμεῖς  
 15 ἐπήσομεν· ἡμετέρη γάρ ἐστι αὕτη γε, μὴ αὐτῶν  
 βουλομένων Λακεδαιμονίων. τοῦτοις μὲν ὦν ἡγέε-  
 σθαι βουλομένοις οὐκ ἀντιτείνομεν, ἄλλω δὲ παρή-  
 σομεν οὐδενὶ ναυαρχέειν. μάτην γὰρ ἂν ὧδε πάρα-  
 λον Ἑλλήνων στρατὸν πλεῖστον εἴημεν ἐκτημένοι,  
 20 εἰ Συρηκουσίοις ἐόντες Ἀθηναῖοι συγχωρήσομεν  
 τῆς ἡγεμονίας, ἀρχαιότατον μὲν ἔθνος παρεχόμε-  
 νοι, μῦνοι δὲ ἐόντες οὐ μετανάσται Ἑλλήνων, τῶν  
 καὶ Ὀμηρος ὁ ἐποποιὸς ἄνδρα ἄριστον ἔφησε εἰς  
 Ἴλιον ἀπικέσθαι, τάξαι τε καὶ διακοσμήσαι στρα-  
 25 τόν. οὕτω οὐκ ὄνειδος οὐδὲν ἡμῖν ἐστὶ λέγειν  
 ταῦτα. Ἀμείβετο Γέλων τοισίδε· Ξεῖνε Ἀθηναῖε, 162



ὑμεῖς οἴκατε τοὺς μὲν ἄρχοντας ἔχειν, τοὺς δὲ ἀρ-  
 ξομένους οὐκ ἔξειν. ἐπεὶ τοίνυν οὐδὲν  
 ὑπιέντες ἔχειν τὸ πᾶν ἐθέλετε, οὐκ ἂν  
 φθάνοιτε τὴν ταχίστην ὀπίσω ἀπαλλασ- 5  
 σόμενοι καὶ ἀγγέλλοντες τῇ Ἑλλάδι ὅτι ἐκ τοῦ  
 ἐνιαυτοῦ τὸ ἔαρ αὐτῇ ἐξαραιρήται. Οὗτος δὲ ὁ νόος  
 τοῦδε τοῦ ῥήματος, τὸ ἐθέλει λέγειν· δηλα γὰρ, ὥς  
 ἐν τῷ ἐνιαυτῷ ἐστὶ τὸ ἔαρ δοκιμώτατον, τῆς δὲ τῶν  
 Ἑλλήνων στρατιῆς τὴν ἐωυτοῦ στρατιήν. στερι- 10  
 σκομένην ὦν τὴν Ἑλλάδα τῆς ἐωυτοῦ συμμαχίης εἰ-  
 καζε, ὥς εἰ τὸ ἔαρ ἐκ τοῦ ἐνιαυτοῦ ἐξαριρημένον εἴη.

163 Οἱ μὲν δὴ τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἀγγελοι, τοσαῦτα  
 τῷ Γέλωνι χρηματισάμενοι, ἀπέπλεον.  
 Γέλων δὲ πρὸς ταῦτα δείσας μὲν περὶ  
 τοῖσι Ἑλλησιν, μὴ οὐ δύνωνται τὸν βάρ-  
 βαρον ὑπερβαλέσθαι, δεινὸν δὲ καὶ οὐκ ἀνασχετὸν 5  
 ποιησάμενος, ἐλθὼν ἐς Πελοπόννησον ἄρχεσθαι  
 ὑπὸ Λακεδαιμονίων, ἐὼν Σικελίης τύραννος, ταύτην  
 μὲν τὴν ὁδὸν ἡμέλησε, ὃ δὲ ἄλλης εἶχετο. Ἐπεί  
 τε γὰρ τάχιστα ἐπύθετο τὸν Πέρσῃ διαβεβηκότα  
 τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον, πέμπει πεντηκοντέροισι τρισὶ 10  
 Κάδμον τὸν Σκύθει, ἄνδρα Κῶον, ἐς Δελφοὺς,  
 ἔχοντα χρήματα πολλὰ καὶ φίλους λόγους, кара-  
 δοκήσουντα τὴν μάχην, τῇ πεσέεται· καὶ ἦν μὲν ὁ  
 βάρβαρος νικᾷ, τά τε χρήματα αὐτῷ διδόναι καὶ  
 γῆν τε καὶ ὕδωρ, τῶν ἄρχει ὁ Γέλων· ἦν δὲ οἱ 15

164 Ἑλληνες, ὀπίσω ἀπάγειν. Ὁ δὲ Κάδμος οὗτος,  
 πρότερον τούτων παραδεξάμενος παρὰ  
 πατρὸς τὴν τυραννίδα Κῶον εὖ βεβη-  
 κυῖαν, ἐκὼν τε εἶναι καὶ δεινοῦ ἐπιόντος

Gelo breaks  
 off the con-  
 ference.

Neutrality of  
 Gelo; mission  
 of Cadmus.

History of  
 Cadmus; his  
 integrity.

5 οὐδενὸς, ἀλλ' ἀπὸ δικαιοσύνης, ἐς μέσον Κώοισι  
καταθεὶς τὴν ἀρχήν, οἶχετο ἐς Σικελίην, ἔνθα παρὰ  
Σαμίων ἔσχε τε καὶ κατοίκησε πόλιν Ζάγκλην τὴν  
ἐς Μεσσήνην μεταβαλοῦσαν τὸ οὖνομα. τοῦτον  
10 δὴ ὦν ὁ Γέλων τὸν Κάδμον καὶ τοιούτῳ τρόπῳ  
ἀπικόμενον διὰ δικαιοσύνην, τὴν οἱ αὐτὸς ἄλλην  
συνήδεε εἶναι, ἔπεμπε, ὃς ἐπὶ τοῖσι ἄλλοισι  
δικαίοισι τοῖσι ἐξ ἑωυτοῦ ἐργασμένοισι καὶ τότε  
οὐκ ἐλάχιστον τούτων ἐλείπετο. κρατήσας γὰρ  
15 μεγάλων χρημάτων, τῶν οἱ Γέλων ἐπετράπετο,  
παρεὸν κατασχέσθαι, οὐκ ἠθέλησε· ἀλλ', ἐπεὶ οἱ  
Ἕλληνες ἐπεκράτησαν τῇ ναυμαχίῃ, καὶ Ξέρξης  
οἰχώκεε ἀπελαύνων, καὶ δὴ καὶ ἐκεῖνος ἀπῖκετο ἐς  
τὴν Σικελίην, ἀπὸ πάντα τὰ χρήματα ἄγων.

Λέγεται δὲ καὶ τάδε ὑπὸ τῶν ἐν Σικελίᾳ οἰκῶν 165  
μένων, ὡς ὅμως καὶ μέλλων ἄρχεσθαι  
ὑπὸ Λακεδαιμονίων ὁ Γέλων ἐβοήθησε  
ἂν τοῖσι Ἕλλησι, εἰ μὴ ὑπὸ Θήρωνος  
5 τοῦ Αἰνησιδήμου, Ἀκραγαντίνων μουνάρ-  
χου, ἐξελαθεὶς ἐξ Ἰμέρης Τήριλλος ὁ Κρινίππου,  
τύραννος ἐὼν Ἰμέρης, ἐπῆγε ὑπ' αὐτὸν τὸν χρόνον  
τοῦτον Φοινίκων καὶ Λιβύων καὶ Ἰβήρων καὶ  
Λιγύων καὶ Ἐλισύκων καὶ Σαρδονίων καὶ Κυρνίων  
10 τριήκοντα μυριάδας, καὶ στρατηγὸν αὐτῶν Ἀμίλ-  
καν τὸν Ἀννωνος, Καρχηδονίων ἐόντα βασιλέα,  
κατὰ ξεινίην τε τὴν ἑωυτοῦ ὁ Τήριλλος ἀναγνώσας,  
καὶ μάλιστα διὰ τὴν Ἀναξίλεω τοῦ Κρητίνεω προ-  
θυμίην, ὃς Ῥηγίου ἐὼν τύραννος τὰ ἑωυτοῦ τέκνα  
15 δούς ὁμήρους Ἀμίλκα ἐπῆγέ μιν ἐπὶ τὴν Σικελίην,  
τιμωρέων τῷ πενθερῷ. Τηρίλλου γὰρ εἶχε θυγα-

Different ac-  
count given  
by the  
Sicilians:  
Carthaginian  
invasion.

τέρα Ἀναξίλεως, τῇ οὖνομα ἦν Κυδίππη. οὕτω δὴ οὐκ οἶόν τε γενόμενον βοηθέειν τὸν Γέλωνα τοῖσι Ἕλλησι, ἀποπέμπειν ἐς Δελφούς τὰ χρήματα.

- 166 Πρὸς δὲ καὶ τάδε λέγουσι, ὡς συνέβη τῆς αὐτῆς ἡμέρης ἐν τε τῇ Σικελίῃ Γέλωνα καὶ Θή-  
Battle of  
Himera; dis-  
appearance  
of Hamilcar. ρωνα νικᾶν Ἀμίλκαν τὸν Καρχηδόνιον,  
καὶ ἐν Σαλαμῖνι τοὺς Ἕλληνας τὸν Πέρ-  
σην. Τὸν δὲ Ἀμίλκαν, Καρχηδόνιον ἑόντα πρὸς 5  
πατρὸς, μητρόθεν δὲ Συρηκούσιον, βασιλεύσαντά  
τε κατ' ἀνδραγαθήν Καρχηδονίων, ὡς ἡ συμβολή  
τε ἐγίνετο καὶ ὡς ἐσσοῦτο τῇ μάχῃ, ἀφανισθῆναι  
πυνθάνομαι· οὔτε γὰρ ζῶντα οὔτε ἀποθανόντα  
φανῆναι οὐδαμοῦ γῆς· τὸ πᾶν γὰρ ἐπεξελθεῖν 10  
167 διζήμενον Γέλωνα. Ἔστι δὲ ὑπ' αὐτῶν Καρχη-  
Carthaginian  
explanation. δονίων ὃδε ὁ λόγος λεγόμενος, οἰκότει χρεω-  
μένων, ὡς οἱ μὲν βάρβαροι τοῖσι Ἕλλησι  
ἐν τῇ Σικελίῃ ἐμάχοντο ἐξ ἡοῦς ἀρξάμενοι μέχρι  
δείλης ὀψίης· ἐπὶ τοσοῦτο γὰρ λέγεται ἐλκύσαι 5  
τὴν σύστασιν· ὁ δὲ Ἀμίλκας ἐν τούτῳ τῷ χρόνῳ  
μένων ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ ἐθύετο καὶ ἐκαλλιρέετο,  
ἐπὶ πυρῆς μεγάλης σώματα ὅλα καταγίζων· ἰδὼν  
δὲ τροπὴν τῶν ἑωυτοῦ γινομένην, ὡς ἔτυχε ἐπι-  
σπένδων τοῖσι ἱροῖσι, ὥσε ἑωυτὸν ἐς τὸ πῦρ· οὕτω 10  
δὴ κατακαυθέντα ἀφανισθῆναι. ἀφανισθέντι δὲ  
Ἀμίλκα τρόπῳ εἴτε τοιούτῳ, ὡς Φοῖνικες λέγουσι,  
εἴτε ἑτέρῳ, ὡς Συρηκούσιοι, Καρχηδόνιοι τοῦτο  
μὲν οἱ θύουσι, τοῦτο δὲ μνήματα ἐποίησαν ἐν  
πάσῃσι τῇσι πόλισι τῶν ἀποικίδων, ἐν αὐτῇ τε 15  
μέγιστον Καρχηδόνι. Τὰ μὲν ἀπὸ Σικελίης τοσ-  
αῦτα.

Κερκυραῖοι δὲ, τάδε ὑποκρινάμενοι τοῖσι ἀγγέ- 168

λοισι, τοιάδε ἐποίησαν· καὶ γὰρ τούτους  
 παρελάμβανον οἱ αὐτοὶ, οἵπερ καὶ ἐς  
 Σικελίην ἀπικάτο, λέγοντες τοὺς αὐτοὺς

Embassy to  
 Corcyra;  
 treachery of  
 the Corey-  
 raens.

5 λόγους, τοὺς καὶ πρὸς Γέλωνα ἔλεγον. οἱ δὲ παρ-  
 αντικά μὲν ὑπίσχοντο πέμψειν τε καὶ ἀμυνέειν,  
 φράζοντες ὡς οὐ σφί περιоптτή ἐστὶ ἡ Ἑλλὰς  
 ἀπολλυμένη· ἦν γὰρ σφαλῇ, σφεῖς γε οὐδὲν ἄλλο  
 ἢ δουλεύσουσι τῇ πρώτῃ τῶν ἡμερέων· ἀλλὰ  
 10 τιμωρητέον εἴη ἐς τὸ δυνατώτατον. Ὑπεκρίναντο  
 μὲν οὕτω εὐπρόσωπα. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἔδει βοηθέειν, ἄλλα  
 νοεῦντες ἐπλήρωσαν νέας ἐξήκοντα· μόγισ δὲ ἀνα-  
 χθέντες προσέμιξαν τῇ Πελοποννήσῳ, καὶ περὶ  
 Πύλον καὶ Ταίναρον γῆς τῆς Λακεδαιμονίων ἀνε-  
 15 κώχενον τὰς νέας, караδοκέοντες καὶ οὗτοι τὸν  
 πόλεμον, τῇ πεσέεται, ἀελπτεύοντες μὲν τοὺς Ἑλλη-  
 νας ὑπερβαλέεσθαι, δοκέοντες δὲ τὸν Πέρσην, κατα-  
 κρατήσαντα πολλὸν, ἄρξειν πάσης τῆς Ἑλλάδος.  
 Ἐποίευν ὦν ἐπίτηδες, ἵνα ἔχῃσι πρὸς τὸν Πέρσην  
 20 λέγειν τοιάδε· ὦ βασιλεῦ, ἡμεῖς, παραλαμβανόντων  
 τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἡμέας ἐς τὸν πόλεμον τοῦτον,  
 ἔχοντες δύναμιν οὐκ ἐλαχίστην, οὐδὲ νέας ἐλαχίσ-  
 τας παρασχόντες ἂν, ἀλλὰ πλείστας μετὰ γε  
 Ἀθηναίους, οὐκ ἐβελήσαμεν τοι ἐναντιοῦσθαι, οὐδέ  
 25 τι ἀποθύμιον ποιῆσαι. Τοιαῦτα λέγοντες ἠλπιζον  
 πλεον τι τῶν ἄλλων οἴσεσθαι· τά περ ἂν καὶ ἐγένετο,  
 ὡς ἐμοὶ δοκέει, πρὸς δὲ τοὺς Ἑλληνάς σφι  
 σκῆψις ἐπεποίητο, τῇ περ δὴ καὶ ἐχρήσαντο. αἰτιω-  
 μένων γὰρ τῶν Ἑλλήνων, ὅτι οὐκ ἐβοήθεον, ἔφασαν  
 30 πληρῶσαι μὲν ἐξήκοντα τριήρεας, ὑπὸ δὲ ἐτησιέων



ἀνέμων ὑπερβαλεῖν Μαλέην οὐκ οἰοί τε γενέσθαι· οὕτω οὐκ ἀπικέσθαι ἐς Σαλαμίνα, καὶ οὐδεμιῇ κακότητι λειφθῆναι τῆς ναυμαχίης. Οὗτοι μὲν οὕτω διεκρούσαντο τοὺς Ἕλληνας.

- 169 Κρήτες δὲ, ἐπεὶ τέ σφεας παρελάμβανον οἱ ἐπὶ  
Embassy to  
Crete; warn-  
ing of the  
Oracle. τούτοισι ταχθέντες Ἑλλήνων, ἐποίησαν  
τοιόνδε. Πέμψαντες κοινῇ θεοπρόπους ἐς  
Δελφοὺς τὸν θεὸν ἐπειρώτων, εἴ σφι ἄμει-  
νον γίνεται τιμωρέουσι τῇ Ἑλλάδι. ἡ δὲ Πυθίη 5  
ὑπεκρίνατο· ὦ νήπιοι, ἐπιμέμφεσθε ὅσα ὑμῖν  
ἐκ τῶν Μενέλεω τιμωρημάτων Μίνως ἐπεμψε  
μηνίων δακρύματα, ὅτι οἱ μὲν οὐ συνεξεπρήξαντο  
αὐτῷ τὸν ἐν Καμίκῳ θάνατον γενόμενον, ὑμεῖς δὲ  
ἐκείνοισι τὴν ἐκ Σπάρτης ἀρπαχθεῖσαν ὑπ' ἀνδρὸς 10  
βαρβάρου γυναῖκα. Ταῦτα οἱ Κρήτες ὡς ἀπε-  
170 νειχθέντα ἤκουσαν, ἔσχοντο τῆς τιμωρίας. Λέγεται  
Cretan tradi-  
tions: ex-  
pedition to  
Sicily; settle-  
ment in Ia-  
pygia. γὰρ Μίνων κατὰ ζήτησιν Δαιδάλου ἀπι-  
κόμενον ἐς Σικανίην, τὴν νῦν Σικελίην  
καλυμμένην, ἀποθανεῖν βιαίῳ θανάτῳ.  
ἀνὰ δὲ χρόνον Κρήτας, θεοῦ σφε ἐποτρύ- 5  
ναντος, πάντας πλὴν Πολιχνιτέων τε καὶ Πραισίων,  
ἀπικομένους στόλῳ μεγάλῳ ἐς Σικανίην, πολιορ-  
κέειν ἐπ' ἕτεα πέντε πόλιν Κάμικον, τὴν κατ' ἐμὲ  
Ἀκραγαντῖνοι ἐνέμοντο· τέλος δὲ, οὐ δυναμένους  
οὔτε ἐλεῖν οὔτε παραμένειν, λιμῷ συνεστεῶτας, 10  
ἀπολιπόντας οἷχεσθαι. ὥς δὲ κατὰ Ἰηπυγίην  
γενέσθαι πλώοντας, ὑπολαβόντα σφέας χεიმῶνα  
μέγαν ἐκβαλεῖν ἐς τὴν γῆν. συναραχθέντων δὲ  
τῶν πλοίων (οὐδεμίαν γάρ σφι ἔτι κομιδὴν ἐς  
Κρήτην φαίνεσθαι), ἐνθαῦτα Ἑτρίην πόλιν κτί- 15

σαντας, καταμειναί τε καὶ μεταβαλόντας ἀντὶ  
 μὲν Κρητῶν γενέσθαι Ἰήπυγας Μεσσαπίους, ἀντὶ  
 δὲ εἶναι νησιώτας ἡπειρώτας. ἀπὸ δὲ Ἑλίου  
 πόλιος τὰς ἄλλας οἰκίσαι, τὰς δὲ Ταραντῖνοι  
 20 χρόνῳ ὕστερον πολλῷ ἐξανιστάντες προσέπταισαν  
 μεγάλως, ὥστε φόνος Ἑλληνικὸς μέγιστος οὗτος  
 δὴ ἐγένετο πάντων τῶν ἡμεῖς ἴδμεν, αὐτῶν τε  
 Ταραντίνων καὶ Ῥηγίνων, οἳ ὑπὸ Μικύθου τοῦ  
 Χοίρου ἀναγκαζόμενοι τῶν ἀστῶν, καὶ ἀπικόμενοι  
 25 τιμωροὶ Ταραντῖνοισι, ἀπέθανον τρισχίλιοι οὕτω·  
 αὐτῶν δὲ Ταραντίνων οὐκ ἐπὶ ἀριθμός. ὁ δὲ  
 Μίκυθος, οἰκέτης ἐὼν Ἀναξίλεω, ἐπίτροπος Ῥηγίου  
 καταλέλειπτο, οὗτος, ὅσπερ ἐκπεσὼν ἐκ Ῥηγίου  
 καὶ Τεγέην τὴν Ἀρκάδων οἰκήσας, ἀνέθηκε ἐν  
 Ὀλυμπίῃ τοὺς πολλοὺς ἀνδριάντας. Ἀλλὰ τὰ 171  
 μὲν κατὰ Ῥηγίους τε καὶ Ταραντίνους History of  
the island.  
 τοῦ λόγου μοι παρενθήκη γέγονε. Ἔς δὲ  
 τὴν Κρήτην ἐρημωθείσαν, ὡς λέγουσι Πραῖσιοι,  
 5 ἔσοικίζεσθαι ἄλλους τε ἀνθρώπους καὶ μάλιστα  
 Ἑλληνας· τρίτῃ δὲ γενεῇ μετὰ Μίνων τελευτή-  
 σαντα γενέσθαι τὰ Τρωϊκὰ, ἐν τοῖσι οὐ φλαυρο-  
 τάτους φαίνεσθαι ἔοντας Κρήτας τιμωροὺς Μενέ-  
 λεω. ἀντὶ τούτων δὲ σφι ἀπονοστήσασι ἐκ Τροίης  
 10 λιμὸν τε καὶ λοιμὸν γενέσθαι, καὶ αὐτοῖσι καὶ  
 τοῖσι προβάτοισι, ἔστε, τὸ δεύτερον ἐρημωθείσης  
 Κρήτης, μετὰ τῶν ὑπολοίπων τρίτους αὐτὴν νῦν  
 νέμεσθαι Κρήτας. Ἡ μὲν δὲ Πυθίη ὑπομνήσασα  
 ταῦτα ἔσχε βουλομένους τιμωρέειν τοῖσι Ἑλλησι.  
 Θεσσαλοὶ δὲ ὑπὸ ἀναγκαίης τὸ πρῶτον ἐμή- 172  
 δισαν, ὡς διέδεξαν, ὅτι οὐ σφι ἦνδανε τὰ οἱ Ἀλενά-

δαι ἐμηχανέωντο. ἐπεὶ τε γὰρ ἐπύθοντο τάχιστα  
 μέλλοντα διαβαίνειν τὸν Πέρσῃν ἐς τὴν  
 Εὐρώπην, πέμπουσι ἐς τὸν Ἴσθμὸν ἀγ- 5  
 γέλους. ἐν δὲ τῷ Ἴσθμῷ ἦσαν ἀλίσ-  
 μένοι πρόβουλοι τῆς Ἑλλάδος, ἀραιρη-  
 μένοι ἀπὸ τῶν πολίων τῶν τὰ ἀμείνω φρονεουσέων  
 περὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα. ἀπικόμενοι δὲ ἐπὶ τούτους τῶν  
 Θεσσαλῶν οἱ ἄγγελοι ἔλεγον. Ἄνδρες Ἕλληνες, 10  
 δεῖ φυλάσσεσθαι τὴν ἐσβολὴν τὴν Οὐλυμπικὴν,  
 ἵνα Θεσσαλίῃ τε καὶ ἡ σύμπασα ἡ Ἑλλὰς ἐν  
 σκέπη τοῦ πολέμου. ἡμεῖς μὲν νυν ἐτοῖμοί εἰμεν  
 συμφυλάσσειν· πέμπειν δὲ χρὴ καὶ ὑμέας στρατιὴν  
 πολλήν, ὥς, εἰ μὴ πέμψετε, ἐπίστασθε ἡμέας 15  
 ὁμολογήσειν τῷ Πέρσῃ. οὐ γάρ τοι προκατημένους  
 τοσοῦτο πρὸ τῆς ἄλλης Ἑλλάδος, μούνους πρὸ  
 ὑμέων δεῖ ἀπολέσθαι. βοηθέειν δὲ οὐ βουλόμενοι  
 ἀναγκαίην ἡμῖν οὐδεμίαν οἰοί τέ ἐστε προσφέρειν·  
 οὐδαμὰ γὰρ ἀδυνασίης ἀνάγκη κρέσσων ἔφυ· 20  
 ἡμεῖς δὲ πειρησόμεθα αὐτοὶ τινα σωτηρίην μηχαν-  
 νέωμενοι. Ταῦτα ἔλεγον οἱ Θεσσαλοί.  
 Οἱ δὲ Ἕλληνες πρὸς ταῦτα ἐβουλεύ-  
 σαντο ἐς Θεσσαλίην πέμπειν κατὰ θά-  
 λασσαν πεζὸν στρατὸν, φυλάξοντα τὴν ἐσβολὴν.  
 ὥς δὲ συνελέχθη ὁ στρατὸς, ἔπλεε δι' Εὐρίπου· 5  
 ἀπικόμενος δὲ τῆς Ἀχαιΐης ἐς Ἄλουν, ἀποβὰς  
 ἐπορεύετο ἐς Θεσσαλίην, τὰς νέας αὐτοῦ κατα-  
 λιπών· καὶ ἀπίκητο ἐς τὰ Τέμπεα ἐς τὴν ἐσβολὴν,  
 ἥπερ ἀπὸ Μακεδονίης τῆς κάτω ἐς Θεσσαλίην  
 φέρει παρὰ Πηνειὸν ποταμὸν, μεταξὺ δὲ Ὀλύμ- 10  
 που τε οὐρεὸς ἔοντα καὶ τῆς Ὀσσης. ἐνθαῦτα

173 Despatch of  
 troops to  
 Tempe; mes-  
 sage from  
 Alexander.

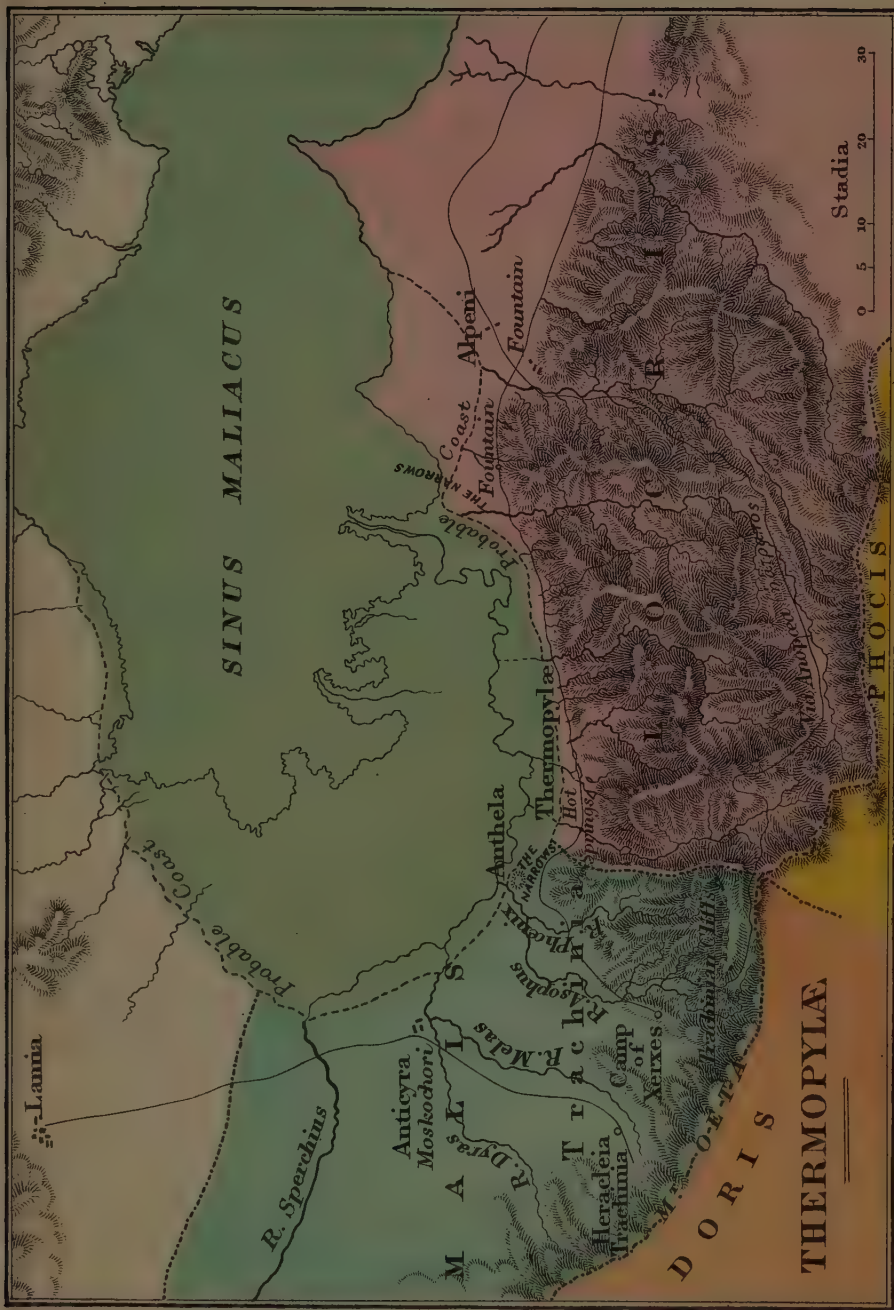
ἐστρατοπεδεύοντο τῶν Ἑλλήνων κατὰ μυρίους  
 ὀπλῖται συλλεγόντες· καὶ σφι προσῆν ἡ τῶν  
 Θεσσαλῶν ἵππος· ἐστρατήγεε δὲ Λακεδαιμονίων  
 5 μὲν Εὐαίνετος ὁ Καρήνου, ἐκ τῶν πολεμάρχων  
 ἀραιρημένος, γένεος μέντοι ἐὼν οὐ τοῦ βασιληΐου,  
 Ἀθηναίων δὲ Θεμιστοκλέης ὁ Νεοκλέος. Ἔμειναν  
 δὲ ὀλίγας ἡμέρας ἐνθαῦτα. ἀπικόμενοι γὰρ ἄγγελοι  
 παρὰ Ἀλεξάνδρου τοῦ Ἀμύντεω, ἀνδρὸς Μακε-  
 0 δόνος, συνεβούλευόν σφι ἀπαλλάσσεσθαι, μηδὲ  
 μένοντας ἐν τῇ ἐσβολῇ καταπατηθῆναι ὑπὸ τοῦ  
 στρατοῦ ἐπιόντος, σημαίνοντες τὸ πλήθός τε τῆς  
 στρατιῆς καὶ τὰς νέας. ὥς δὲ οὗτοί σφι ταῦτα  
 συνεβούλευον (χρηστὰ γὰρ ἐδόκεον συμβουλεύειν,  
 5 καὶ σφι εὖνοος ἐφαίνετο ἐὼν ὁ Μακεδὼν), ἐπεί-  
 θοντο. δοκέειν δέ μοι, ἀρρωδίῃ ἦν τὸ πείθον, ὥς  
 ἐπύθοντο καὶ ἄλλην ἐοῦσαν ἐσβολὴν ἐς Θεσσαλοὺς  
 κατὰ τὴν ἁνῶ Μακεδονίην διὰ Περραιβῶν κατὰ  
 Γόννον πόλιν, τῇ περ δὴ καὶ ἐσέβαλε ἡ στρατιὴ ἡ  
 0 Ξέρξεω. καταβάντες δὲ οἱ Ἕλληνες ἐπὶ τὰς νέας,  
 ὀπίσω ἐπορεύοντο ἐς τὸν Ἰσθμόν. Αὕτη ἐγένετο 174  
 ἡ ἐς Θεσσαλίην στρατηΐη, βασιλέος τε  
 μέλλοντος διαβαίνειν ἐς τὴν Εὐρώπην Thessaly  
medises.  
 ἐκ τῆς Ἀσίας καὶ ἐόντος ἤδη ἐν Ἀβύδῳ. Θεσσα-  
 5 λοὶ δὲ, ἐρημωθέντες συμμάχων, οὕτω δὴ ἐμήδισαν  
 προθύμως οὐδ' ἔτι ἐνδοιαστῶς, ὥστε ἐν τοῖσι  
 πρήγμασι ἐφαίνοντο βασιλέϊ ἄνδρες ἐόντες χρη-  
 σιμώτατοι.

Οἱ δὲ Ἕλληνες ἐπεὶ τε ἀπίκατο ἐς τὸν Ἰσθμόν, 175  
 ἐβουλεύοντο πρὸς τὰ λεχθέντα ἐξ Ἀλεξ-  
 ἀνδρου, τῇ τε στήσονται τὸν πόλεμον καὶ Points of  
resistance  
decided on.



ἐν οἷοισι χώροισι. ἡ νικῶσα δὲ γνώμη ἐγένετο, τὴν  
 ἐν Θερμοπύλῃσι ἐσβολὴν φυλάξαι. στεινοτέρῃ 5  
 γὰρ ἐφαίνετο εἶναι τῆς ἐς Θεσσαλίην καὶ μία, ἀγ-  
 χότερῃ τε τῆς ἐωυτῶν. τὴν δὲ ἀτραπὸν, δι' ἣν  
 ἤλωσαν οἱ ἀλόντες Ἑλλήνων ἐν Θερμοπύλῃσι,  
 οὐδὲ ἴδεσαν εἶναι πρότερον ἢ περ ἀπικόμενοι ἐς  
 Θερμοπύλας ἐπύθοντο Τρηχινίων. ταύτην ὧν 10  
 ἐβουλεύσαντο φυλάσσοντας τὴν ἐσβολὴν, μὴ  
 παριέναι ἐς τὴν Ἑλλάδα τὸν βάρβαρον· τὸν δὲ  
 ναυτικὸν στρατὸν πλέειν γῆς τῆς Ἰστιαιώτιδος ἐπὶ  
 Ἀρτεμίσιον. ταῦτα γὰρ ἀγχοῦ τε ἀλλήλων ἐστὶ,  
 ὥστε πυνθάνεσθαι τὰ κατὰ ἑκατέρους εἶναι· οἳ 15  
 176 τε χώροι οὕτως ἔχουσι. Τοῦτο μὲν τὸ Ἀρτεμίσιον·  
 ἐκ τοῦ πελάγεος τοῦ Θρηϊκίου ἐξ εὐρέος  
 συνάγεται ἐς στεινὸν πόρον, τὸν μεταξὺ  
 εἶναι νήσου τε Σκιάθου καὶ ἠπείρου  
 Μαγνησίης· ἐκ δὲ τοῦ στεινοῦ τῆς Εὐ- 5  
 βοίης ἤδη τὸ Ἀρτεμίσιον δέκεται αἰγιαλὸς, ἐν δὲ  
 Ἀρτέμιδος ἱρόν. Ἡ δὲ αὖ διὰ Τρηχίνος ἔσοδος  
 ἐς τὴν Ἑλλάδα ἐστὶ, τῇ στεινοτάτῃ, ἡμίπλεθρον.  
 οὐ μέντοι κατὰ τοῦτό γ' ἐστὶ τὸ στεινότατον τῆς  
 χώρας τῆς ἄλλης, ἀλλ' ἐμπροσθὲ τε Θερμοπυλέων 10  
 καὶ ὅπισθε, κατὰ τε Ἀλπηνοὺς ὅπισθε εἶντας  
 εἶναι ἀμαξιτὸς μούνη, καὶ ἐμπροσθε κατὰ Φοῖνικα  
 ποταμὸν ἀγχοῦ Ἀνθηλῆς πόλιος ἀμαξιτὸς ἄλλη  
 μούνη. τῶν δὲ Θερμοπυλέων τὸ μὲν πρὸς ἐσπέρας  
 οὖρος ἄβατόν τε καὶ ἀπόκρημνον, ὑψηλὸν, ἀνατεῖ- 15  
 νον ἐς τὴν Οἶτην· τὸ δὲ πρὸς τὴν ἡῶ τῆς ὁδοῦ  
 θάλασσα ὑποδέκεται καὶ τενάγεια. Ἔστι δὲ ἐν τῇ  
 ἐσόδῳ ταύτῃ θερμὰ λουτρά, τὰ Χύτρος καλέουσι οἱ

Description  
 of Artemi-  
 sium and  
 Thermo-  
 pylae.



Butler's Herodotus

London : Macmillan & Co. L<sup>d</sup>

Stanford's Geog.<sup>y</sup> Estab<sup>t</sup> London.



ἐπιχώριοι, καὶ βωμὸς ἵδρυται Ἡρακλέος ἐπ' αὐτοῖσι.  
 20 ἐδέδμητο δὲ τεῖχος κατὰ ταύτας τὰς ἐσβολὰς, καὶ  
 τό γε παλαιὸν πύλαι ἐπῆσαν. ἔδειμαν δὲ Φωκέες  
 τὸ τεῖχος δείσαντες, ἐπεὶ Θεσσαλοὶ ἦλθον ἐκ  
 Θεσπρωτῶν οἰκήσοντας γῆν τὴν Αἰολίδα, τὴν περ  
 νῦν ἐκτέεται. ἄτε δὴ πειρωμένων τῶν Θεσσαλῶν  
 25 καταστρέφεισθαι σφεας, τοῦτο προεφυλάξαντο οἱ  
 Φωκέες· καὶ τὸ ὕδωρ τὸ θερμὸν τότε ἐπῆκαν  
 ἐπὶ τὴν ἔσοδον, ὥς ἂν χαραδρωθεῖη ὁ χώρος, πᾶν  
 μηχανεώμενοι, ὅπως μὴ σφί ἐσβάλοιεν οἱ Θεσ-  
 σαλοὶ ἐπὶ τὴν χώραν. Τὸ μὲν νυν τεῖχος τὸ  
 30 ἀρχαῖον ἐκ παλαιοῦ τε ἐδέδμητο, καὶ τὸ πλεόν  
 αὐτοῦ ἤδη ὑπὸ χρόνου ἔκειτο, τοῖσι δὲ αὖτις  
 ὀρθώσασι ἔδοξε ταύτῃ ἀπαμύνειν ἀπὸ τῆς Ἑλλά-  
 δος τὸν βάρβαρον. κώμη δὲ ἐστὶ ἀγχοτάτω τῆς  
 ὁδοῦ Ἀλπηνοὶ οὕνομα· ἐκ ταύτης δὲ ἐπισιτιεῖσθαι  
 ἐλογίζοντο οἱ Ἕλληνες. Οἱ μὲν νυν χώροι οὗτοι 177  
 τοῖσι Ἕλλησι εἶναι ἐφαίνοντο ἐπιτήδαιοι.  
 ἅπαντα γὰρ προσκεψάμενοι καὶ ἐπιλο-  
 γισθέντες, ὅτι οὔτε πλήθει ἔξουσιν χρᾶ-  
 5 σθαι οἱ βάρβαροι οὔτε ἵππῳ, ταύτῃ σφί  
 ἔδειξε δέκεσθαι τὸν ἐπιόντα ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα. ὥς  
 δὲ ἐπύθοντο τὸν Πέρσῃ ἐόντα ἐν Πιερίῃ, διαλυ-  
 θέντες ἐκ τοῦ Ἰσθμοῦ ἐστρατεύοντο αὐτῶν οἱ μὲν  
 ἐς Θερμοπύλας πεζῇ, ἄλλοι δὲ κατὰ θάλασσαν  
 10 ἐπ' Ἀρτεμίσιον.

Dissolution  
of the Coun-  
cil. Prepara-  
tions for  
defence.

Οἱ μὲν δὴ Ἕλληνες κατὰ τάχος ἐβοήθειον δια- 178  
 ταχθέντες. Δελφοὶ δ' ἐν τούτῳ τῷ  
 χρόνῳ ἐχρηστηριάζοντο τῷ θεῷ, ὑπὲρ  
 ἐωυτῶν καὶ τῆς Ἑλλάδος καταρρωδη-

Encouraging  
message from  
Delphi.



κότες. καὶ σφι ἐχρήσθη ἀνέμοισι εὐχέσθαι· 5  
 μεγάλους γὰρ τούτους ἔσεσθαι τῇ Ἑλλάδι συμ-  
 μάχους. Δελφοὶ δὲ δεξάμενοι τὸ μαντήϊον, πρῶτα  
 μὲν Ἑλλήνων τοῖσι βουλομένοισι εἶναι ἐλευθέ-  
 ροισι ἐξήγγειλαν τὰ χρησθέντα αὐτοῖσι· καὶ σφι  
 δεινῶς καταρρωδέουσι τὸν βάρβαρον ἐξαγγείλαν· 10  
 τες, χάριν ἀθάνατον κατέθεντο. μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα οἱ  
 Δελφοὶ τοῖσι ἀνέμοισι βωμόν τε ἀπέδεξαν ἐν  
 Θυίῃ, τῇ περ τῆς Κηφισοῦ θυγατρὸς Θυίης τὸ  
 τέμενός ἐστι, ἐπ' ἧς καὶ ὁ χῶρος οὗτος τὴν ἐπωνυ-  
 μίην ἔχει· καὶ θυσίῃσιν σφεας μετήϊσαν. Δελφοὶ 15  
 μὲν δὴ κατὰ τὸ χρηστήριον ἔτι καὶ νῦν τοὺς  
 ἀνέμους ἰλάσκονται.

179 Ὁ δὲ ναυτικὸς Ξέρξεω στρατὸς, ὀρμεόμενος ἐκ  
 Θέρμης πόλιος, παρέβαλε νηυσὶ τῇσι  
 ἄριστα πλεούσῃσι δέκα ἰθὺ Σκιάθου,  
 ἔνθα ἦσαν προφυλάσσουσαι νέες τρεῖς  
 Ἑλληνίδες, Τροϊζηνίη τε καὶ Αἰγιναίη 5  
 καὶ Ἀττική. προϊδόντες δὲ οὗτοι τὰς  
 νέας τῶν βαρβάρων ἐς φυγὴν ὥρμησαν.

Advance of  
 Persians  
 from Ther-  
 maic Gulf.  
 Encounter  
 with three  
 Greek ships:  
 sacrifice of  
 Leo.

180 Τὴν μὲν δὴ Τροϊζηνίην, τῆς ἤρχε Πρηξῖνος, αὐτίκα  
 αἰρέουσι ἐπισπόμενοι οἱ βάρβαροι. καὶ ἔπειτα  
 τῶν ἐπιβατέων αὐτῆς τὸν καλλιστεύοντα ἀγαγόν-  
 τες ἐπὶ τῆς πρῶρης τῆς νηὸς ἔσφαξαν, διαδέξιον  
 ποιεύμενοι τὸν εἶλον τῶν Ἑλλήνων πρῶτον καὶ 5  
 κάλλιστον. τῷ δὲ σφαγιασθέντι τούτῳ οὖνομα  
 ἦν Λέων· τάχα δ' ἂν τι καὶ τοῦ οὐνόματος ἐπαύ-

181 ροιτο. Ἡ δὲ Αἰγιναίη, τῆς ἐτριηράρχεε Ἀσω-  
 νίδης, καὶ τινὰ σφι θόρυβον παρέσχε,  
 Πυθέῳ τοῦ Ἰσχενοῦ ἐπιβατεύοντος,

Heroism of  
 Pythes the  
 Aeginetan.

ἀνδρὸς ἀρίστου γενομένου ταύτην τὴν ἡμέρην,  
 5 ὃς ἐπειδὴ ἡ νηὺς ἠλίσκετο, ἐς τοῦτο ἀντεῖχε  
 μαχόμενος, ἐς ὃ κατεκρεουργήθη ἅπας. ὥς δὲ  
 πεσὼν οὐκ ἀπέθανε, ἀλλ' ἦν ἔμπνοος, οἱ Πέρσαι,  
 οἷπερ ἐπεβάτευον ἐπὶ τῶν νεῶν, δι' ἀρετὴν τὴν  
 ἐκείνου περιποιῆσαί μιν περὶ πλείστου ἐποιή-  
 10 σαντο, σμύρνησί τε ἰώμενοι τὰ ἔλκεα καὶ σινδό-  
 νος βυσσίνης τελαμῶσι κατειλίσσοντες. καὶ μιν,  
 ὥς ὀπίσω ἀπίκοντο ἐς τὸ ἐωυτῶν στρατόπεδον,  
 ἐπεδείκνυσαν ἐκπαγλεόμενοι πάσῃ τῇ στρατιῇ,  
 περιέποντες εὖ· τοὺς δὲ ἄλλους, τοὺς ἔλαβον  
 15 ἐν τῇ νηϊ ταύτῃ, περιείπον ὥς ἀνδράποδα.  
 Αἱ μὲν δὴ δύο τῶν νεῶν οὕτω ἐχειρώθησαν. 182  
 ἡ δὲ τρίτη, τῆς ἐτρηιάρρχεε Φόρμος,  
 ἀνὴρ Ἀθηναῖος, φεύγουσα ἐξοκέλλει ἐς  
 τὰς ἐσβολὰς τοῦ Πηνειοῦ· καὶ τοῦ μὲν  
 5 σκάφεος ἐκράτησαν οἱ βάρβαροι, τῶν δὲ ἀνδρῶν  
 οὐ. ὥς γὰρ δὴ τάχιστα ἐπώκειλαν τὴν νέαν οἱ  
 Ἀθηναῖοι, ἀποθορόντες, κατὰ Θεσσαλὴν πορευό-  
 μενοι ἐκομίσθησαν ἐς Ἀθήνας. Ταῦτα οἱ Ἕλλη-  
 νες οἱ ἐπ' Ἀρτεμισίῳ στρατοπεδεύόμενοι πυνθά-  
 10 νονται παρὰ πυρσῶν ἐκ Σκιάθου. πυνθόμενοι δὲ  
 καὶ καταρρωδήσαντες ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἀρτεμισίου μετωρ-  
 μίζοντο ἐς Χαλκίδα, φυλάξοντες μὲν τὸν Εὐριπον,  
 λείποντες δὲ ἡμεροσκόπους περὶ τὰ ὑψηλὰ τῆς  
 Εὐβοίης. Τῶν δὲ δέκα νεῶν τῶν βαρβάρων τρεῖς 183  
 ἐπήλασαν περὶ τὸ ἔρμα τὸ μεταξὺ ἐὼν  
 Σκιάθου τε καὶ Μαγνησίης, καλεόμενον δὲ  
 Μύρμηκα. ἐνθαῦτα οἱ βάρβαροι, ἐπειδὴ  
 5 στήλην λίθου ἐπέθηκαν κομίσαντες ἐπὶ τὸ ἔρμα,

Retreat of  
the Greek  
fleet to  
Chalcis.

Advance of  
the Persian  
fleet to Mag-  
nesia.

ὀρμηθέντες αὐτοὶ ἐκ Θέρμης, ὥς σφι τὸ ἐμποδῶν ἐγεγόνεε καθαρὸν, ἐπέπλεον πάσῃσι τῇσι νηυσὶ, ἔνδεκα ἡμέρας παρέντες μετὰ τὴν βασιλέος ἐξέλασιν ἐκ Θέρμης. τὸ δὲ ἔρμα σφι κατηγήσατο, ἐὸν ἐν πόρῳ μάλιστα, Πάμμων Σκύριος. πανημερὸν 10 δὲ πλώνοντες οἱ βάρβαροι ἐξανύουσι τῆς Μαγνησίης χώρας ἐπὶ Σηπιάδα τε καὶ τὸν αἰγιαλὸν τὸν μεταξὺ Κασθαναίης τε πόλιος ἐόντα καὶ Σηπιάδος ἀκτῆς.

184

Μέχρι μὲν νυν τούτου τοῦ χώρου καὶ Θερμοπυλέων ἀπαθῆς τε κακῶν ἦν ὁ στρατὸς, καὶ πληῆθος ἦν τηνικαῦτα ἔτι, ὥς ἐγὼ συμβαλλόμενος εὐρίσκω, τόσον· τῶν μὲν ἐκ τῶν νεῶν τῶν ἐκ τῆς Ἀσίης, εὐουσέων 5 ἐπτὰ καὶ διηκοσιέων καὶ χιλιέων, τὸν μὲν ἀρχαῖον ἐκάστων τῶν ἐθνέων ἐόντα ὅμιλον τέσσερας καὶ εἴκοσι μυριάδας καὶ πρὸς χιλιάδα τε καὶ τετρακοσίους, ὥς ἀνὰ διηκοσίους ἄνδρας λογιζομένοισι ἐν ἐκάστη νηϊ. ἐπεβάτευσεν δὲ ἐπὶ τούτων τῶν 10 νεῶν, χωρὶς ἐκάστων τῶν ἐπιχωρίων ἐπιβατέων, Περσέων τε καὶ Μήδων καὶ Σακέων τριήκοντα ἄνδρες. οὗτος ἄλλος ὅμιλος γίνεται τρισμῦριοι καὶ ἑξακισχίλιοι καὶ πρὸς διηκόσιοί τε καὶ δέκα. προσθήσω δ' ἔτι τούτῳ καὶ τῷ προτέρῳ ἀριθμῷ τοὺς 15 ἐκ τῶν πεντηκοντέρων, ποιήσας, ὃ τι πλεον ἦν αὐτῶν ἢ ἔλασσον, ἀν' ὀγδώκοντα ἄνδρας ἐνεῖναι. συνελέχθη δὲ ταῦτα τὰ πλοῖα, ὥς καὶ πρότερόν μοι εἰρέθη, τρισχίλια. ἤδη ὦν ἄνδρες ἂν εἶεν ἐν αὐτοῖσι τέσσερες μυριάδες καὶ εἴκοσι. Τοῦτο μὲν 20 νυν τὸ ἐκ τῆς Ἀσίης ναυτικὸν ἦν, σύμπαν ἐὸν

Numbers of  
the Persian  
host esti-  
mated : Asia-  
tic forces.

πεντήκοντα μυριάδες καὶ μία, χιλιάδες τε ἔπεισι ἐπὶ  
 ταύτησι ἑπτὰ, καὶ πρὸς ἑκατοντάδες ἕξ καὶ δεκάς.  
 Τοῦ δὲ πεζοῦ ἑβδομήκοντα καὶ ἑκατὸν μυριάδες  
 25 ἐγίνοντο, τῶν δὲ ἵππέων ὀκτὼ μυριάδες. προσ-  
 θήσω δ' ἔτι τούτοισι τὰς καμήλους τοὺς ἐλαύνον-  
 τας Ἀραβίους καὶ τοὺς τὰ ἄρματα Λίβυας, πλήθος  
 ποιήσας δισμύριους ἄνδρας. Καὶ δὴ τό τε ἐκ τῶν  
 νεῶν καὶ τοῦ πεζοῦ πλήθος συντιθέμενον γίνεται  
 30 διηκόσιαί τε μυριάδες καὶ τριήκοντα καὶ μία, καὶ  
 πρὸς χιλιάδες ἑπτὰ καὶ ἑκατοντάδες ἕξ καὶ δεκάς.  
 Τοῦτο μὲν τὸ ἕξ αὐτῆς τῆς Ἀσίης στράτευμα  
 ἐξαναχθὲν εἴρηται, ἄνευ τε τῆς θεραπήϊς τῆς  
 ἐπομένης καὶ τῶν σιταγωγῶν πλοίων, καὶ ὅσοι  
 ἐνέπλεον τούτοισι. Τὸ δὲ δὴ ἐκ τῆς Εὐρώπης 185  
 ἀγόμενον στράτευμα ἔτι προσλογιστέα  
 τούτῳ παντὶ τῷ ἐξηριθμημένῳ. δόκησιν European  
reinforce-  
ments.  
 δὲ δεῖ λέγειν. νέας μὲν νυν οἱ ἀπὸ Θρητ-  
 5 κης Ἕλληνες καὶ ἐκ τῶν νήσων τῶν ἐπικειμενέων  
 τῇ Θρηϊκῇ παρείχοντο εἴκοσι καὶ ἑκατόν. ἐκ μὲν  
 νυν τουτέων τῶν νεῶν ἄνδρες τετρακισχίλιοι καὶ  
 δισμύριοι γίνονται. πεζοῦ δὲ, τὸν Θρηϊκές παρεί-  
 χοντο, καὶ Παίονες καὶ Ἑορδοὶ καὶ Βοττιαῖοι καὶ  
 10 τὸ Χαλκιδικὸν γένος καὶ Βρύγοι καὶ Πίερες καὶ  
 Μακεδόνες καὶ Περραιβοὶ καὶ Ἐνιῆνες καὶ Δόλο-  
 πες καὶ Μάγνητες καὶ Ἀχαιοὶ, καὶ ὅσοι τῆς Θρητ-  
 κης τὴν παραλίην νέμονται, τούτων τῶν ἐθνέων  
 τριήκοντα μυριάδας δοκέω γενέσθαι. αὗται ὦν αἱ  
 15 μυριάδες ἐκείνησι προστεθεῖσαι τῇσι ἐκ τῆς  
 Ἀσίης, γίνονται αἱ πᾶσαι ἀνδρῶν αἱ μάχιμοι  
 μυριάδες διηκόσιαι καὶ ἐξήκοντα καὶ τέσσερες,



186 ἔπεισι δὲ ταύτησι ἑκατοντάδες ἑκαίδεκα καὶ  
 δεκάς. Τοῦ μαχίμου δὲ τούτου ἔοντος ἀριθμὸν  
 τοσούτου, τὴν θεραπῆτῆν τὴν ἐπομένην  
 τοῦτοις, καὶ τοὺς ἐν τοῖσι σιταγωγοῖσι  
 ἀκάτοις ἔοντας, καὶ μάλα ἐν τοῖσι  
 ἄλλοις πλοίοις τοῖσι ἅμα πλέουσι τῇ στρατιῇ, 5  
 τούτους τῶν μαχίμων ἀνδρῶν οὐ δοκέω εἶναι ἐλάσ-  
 σονας, ἀλλὰ πλεῦνας. καὶ δὴ σφεας ποιέω ἴσους  
 ἐκείνοισι εἶναι, καὶ οὔτε πλεῦνας οὔτε ἐλάσσονας  
 οὐδέν· ἐξισούμενοι δὲ οὗτοι τῷ μαχίμῳ ἐκπληροῦσι  
 τὰς ἴσας μυριάδας ἐκείνησι. Οὕτω πεντηκοσίας τε 10  
 μυριάδας καὶ εἴκοσι καὶ ὀκτὼ καὶ χιλιάδας τρεῖς  
 καὶ ἑκατοντάδας δύο καὶ δεκάδας δύο ἀνδρῶν ἤγαγε  
 Ξέρξης ὁ Δαρείου μέχρι Σηπιάδος καὶ Θερμοπυ-  
 187 λέων. Οὗτος μὲν δὴ τοῦ συνάπαντος τοῦ  
 Ξέρξεω στρατεύματος ἀριθμός. γυναικῶν  
 δὲ σιτοποιῶν καὶ παλλακέων καὶ εὐνού-  
 χων οὐδεὶς ἂν εἴποι ἀτρεκέα ἀριθμόν· οὐδ' αὖ ὑπο-  
 ζυγίων τε καὶ τῶν ἄλλων κτηνέων τῶν ἀχθοφόρων, 5  
 καὶ κυνῶν Ἰνδικῶν τῶν ἐπομένων, οὐδ' ἂν τούτων  
 ὑπὸ πλήθεος οὐδεὶς ἂν εἴποι ἀριθμόν. Ὡστε  
 οὐδέν μοι θωῦμα παράσταται προδοῦναι τὰ ῥέεθρα  
 τῶν ποταμῶν ἔστι τῶν· ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον, ὅπως τὰ  
 σιτία ἀντέχρησε, θωῦμά μοι, μυριάσι τοσαύτησι. 10  
 εὐρίσκω γὰρ συμβαλλόμενος, εἰ χοίνικα πυρῶν  
 ἕκαστος τῆς ἡμέρης ἐλάμβανε καὶ μηδὲν πλεόν,  
 ἔνδεκα μυριάδας μεδίμνων τελεομένας ἐπ' ἡμέρη  
 ἐκάστη, καὶ πρὸς τριηκοσίους τε ἄλλους μεδίμνους  
 καὶ τεσσέρακοντα. γυναιξὶ δὲ καὶ εὐνούχοις καὶ 15  
 ὑποζυγίοις καὶ κυσὶ, οὐ λογίζομαι. Ἀνδρῶν δ'

Camp fol-  
 lowers: total  
 5,283,220.

Estimated  
 consumption  
 of food.

ἔουσέων τοσουτέων μυριάδων, κάλλεός τε εἵνεκα  
καὶ μεγάθεος οὐδεὶς αὐτῶν ἀξιονικότερος ἦν αὐτοῦ  
Ξέρξεω ἔχειν τοῦτο τὸ κράτος.

Ὁ δὲ δὴ ναυτικὸς στράτος ἐπεὶ τε ὀρμηθεὶς 188  
ἔπλεε, καὶ κατέσχε τῆς Μαγνησίης χώρης  
ἔς τὸν αἰγιαλὸν τὸν μεταξὺ Κασθαναίης  
τε πόλιος ἔοντα καὶ Σηπιάδος ἀκτῆς, αἱ

Violent  
storm: ship-  
wreck of the  
Persians.

5 μὲν δὴ πρῶται τῶν νεῶν ὥρμεον πρὸς γῇ, ἄλλαι δ'  
ἐπ' ἐκείνησι ἐπ' ἀγκυρέων· ἅτε γὰρ τοῦ αἰγιαλοῦ  
ἔοντος οὐ μεγάλου πρόκροσσαι ὥρμέοντο ἐς πόντον  
καὶ ἐπὶ ὀκτῶ νέας. ταύτην μὲν τὴν εὐφρόνην οὕτω,  
ἅμα δὲ ὄρθρω, ἐξ αἰθρίας τε καὶ νηνεμίας τῆς θα-  
10 λάσσης ζεσάσης, ἐπέπεσέ σφι χειμῶν τε μέγας καὶ  
πολλὸς ἄνεμος ἀπηλιώτης, τὸν δὴ Ἑλλησποντίην  
καλέουσι οἱ περὶ ταῦτα τὰ χωρία οἰκημένοι· ὅσοι  
μὲν νυν αὐτῶν αὐξόμενον ἔμαθον τὸν ἄνεμον, καὶ  
τοῖσι οὕτω εἶχε ὄρμου, οἱ δ' ἔφθησαν τὸν χειμῶνα  
15 ἀνασπάσαντες τὰς νέας, καὶ αὐτοὶ τε περιῆσαν  
καὶ αἱ νέες αὐτῶν. ὅσας δὲ τῶν νεῶν μεταρσίας  
ἔλαβε, τὰς μὲν ἐξέφερε πρὸς Ἴπνους καλεομένους  
τοὺς ἐν Πηλίῳ, τὰς δὲ ἐς τὸν αἰγιαλόν· αἱ δὲ περὶ  
αὐτὴν τὴν Σηπιάδα περιέπιπτον· αἱ δὲ ἐς Μελί-  
20 βοιαν πόλιν, αἱ δὲ ἐς Κασθαναίην ἐξεβράσσοντο.  
ἦν τε τοῦ χειμῶνος χρῆμα ἀφόρητον. Λέγεται δὲ 189  
λόγος, ὡς Ἀθηναῖοι τὸν Βορέην ἐκ θεο-  
προπίου ἐπεκαλέσαντο, ἐλθόντος σφι  
ἄλλου χρηστηρίου, τὸν γαμβρὸν ἐπίκου-  
5 ρον καλέσασθαι. Βορέης δὲ κατὰ τὸν Ἑλλήνων  
λόγον ἔχει γυναῖκα Ἀπτικήν, Ὠρεΐθυιαν τὴν  
Ἑρεχθέος. κατὰ δὴ τὸ κῆδος τοῦτο οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι,

Gratitude of  
the Athe-  
nians to  
Boreas.

ὥς φάτις ὥρμηται, συμβαλλόμενοί σφι τὸν Βορέην  
γαμβρόν εἶναι, καὶ ναυλοχέοντες τῆς Εὐβοίης ἐν  
Χαλκίδι, ὥς ἔμαθον αὐξόμενον τὸν χειμῶνα, ἥ καὶ 10  
πρὸ τούτου, ἐθύοντό τε καὶ ἐπεκαλέοντο τὸν τε  
Βορέην καὶ τὴν Ὀρεΐθυιαν, τιμωρῆσαί σφι καὶ  
διαφθεῖραι τῶν βαρβάρων τὰς νέας, ὥς καὶ πρότε-  
ρον περὶ Ἀθων. Εἰ μὲν νυν διὰ ταῦτα τοῖσι βαρ-  
βάροισι ὀρμέουσι ὁ βορέης ἐπέπεσε, οὐκ ἔχω 15  
εἰπεῖν· οἱ δ' ὦν Ἀθηναῖοί σφι λέγουσι βοηθή-  
σαντα τὸν Βορέην πρότερον, καὶ τότε ἐκεῖνα κατ-  
εργάσασθαι· καὶ ἱρὸν ἀπελθόντες Βορέῳ ἰδρύ-  
190 σαντο παρὰ ποταμὸν Ἰλισσόν. Ἐν τούτῳ τῷ  
πόνῳ νέας, οἱ ἐλαχίστας, λέγουσι δια-  
φθαρῆναι, τετρακοσιέων οὐκ ἐλάσσονας,  
ἄνδρας τε ἀναριθμήτους, χρημάτων τε  
πλήθος ἀφθονον, ὥστε Ἀμεινοκλέϊ τῷ Κρητίνεω, 5  
ἀνδρὶ Μάγνητι, γηοχέοντι περὶ Σηπιάδα, μεγάλως  
ἡ ναυηγίῃ ἐγένετο χρηστή, ὃς πολλὰ μὲν χρύσεια  
ποτήρια ὑστέρῳ χρόνῳ ἐκβρασσόμενα ἀνείλετο,  
πολλὰ δὲ ἀργύρεα, θησαυρούς τε τῶν Περσέων  
εὔρε, ἄλλα τε χρύσεια ἄφατα χρήματα περιεβά- 10  
λετο. ἀλλ' ὁ μὲν, τᾶλλα οὐκ εὐτυχέων, εὐρήμασι  
μέγα πλούσιος ἐγένετο· ἦν γάρ τις καὶ τοῦτον  
191 ἄχαρις συμφορὴ λυπεῦσα παιδοφόνος. Σιταγω-  
γῶν δὲ ὀλκάδων καὶ τῶν ἄλλων πλοίων  
διαφθειρομένων οὐκ ἐπὶ ἄριθμὸς, ὥστε  
δείσαντες οἱ στρατηγοὶ τοῦ ναυτικοῦ  
στρατοῦ, μή σφι κεκακώμενοισι ἐπιθέωνται οἱ 5  
Θεσσαλοὶ, ἔρκος ὑψηλὸν ἐκ τῶν ναυηγίων περιε-  
βάλλοντο· ἡμέρας γὰρ δὴ ἐχείμαζε τρεῖς. τέλος

Persian  
losses. Good  
fortune of  
Ameinocles.

Magian rites.  
Cessation of  
the storm.

δὲ ἔντομά τε ποιεῦντες καὶ κατααείδοντες γόησι τῷ  
 ἀνέμῳ οἱ μάγοι, πρὸς τε τούτοισι καὶ τῇ Θέτι καὶ  
 10 τῇσι Νηρηΐσι θύοντες ἔπαυσαν τετάρτη ἡμέρῃ, ἢ  
 ἄλλως κως αὐτὸς ἐθέλων ἐκόπασε. τῇ δὲ Θέτι  
 ἔθουν, πυθόμενοι παρὰ τῶν Ἰώνων τὸν λόγον, ὥς ἐκ  
 τοῦ χώρου τούτου ἀρπασθείη ὑπὸ Πηλέος, εἴη τε  
 ἅπασα ἢ ἀκτὴ ἢ Σηπιάς ἐκείνης τε καὶ τῶν ἀλλέων  
 15 Νηρηΐδων. ὁ μὲν δὴ τετάρτη ἡμέρῃ ἐπέπαυτο.  
 Τοῖσι δὲ Ἑλλήσι οἱ ἡμεροσκόποι ἀπὸ τῶν ἄκρων 192  
 τῶν Εὐβοϊκῶν καταδραμόντες δευτέρῃ  
 ἡμέρῃ, ἀπ' ἧς ὁ χειμὼν ὁ πρῶτος ἐγένετο,  
 ἐσήμαινον πάντα τὰ γενόμενα περὶ τὴν  
 5 ναυηγίην. οἱ δὲ, ὥς ἐπύθοντο, Ποσει-  
 δέωνι Σωτῆρι εὐξάμενοι καὶ σπονδὰς προχέαντες,  
 τὴν ταχίστην ὀπίσω ἠπείγοντο ἐπὶ τὸ Ἀρτεμίσιον,  
 ἐλπίσαντες ὀλίγας τινὰς σφί ἀντιξοούς ἔσεσθαι  
 νέας. οἱ μὲν δὴ τὸ δεύτερον ἐλθόντες περὶ τὸ  
 10 Ἀρτεμίσιον ἐναυλόχεον, Ποσειδέωνος Σωτῆρος  
 ἐπωνυμίην ἀπὸ τούτου ἔτι καὶ ἐς τόδε νομίζοντες.

Thanksgiv-  
 ing of the  
 Greeks to  
 Poseidon.  
 Return to  
 Artemisium.

Οἱ δὲ βάρβαροι, ὥς ἐπαύσατό τε ὁ ἄνεμος καὶ 193  
 τὸ κῦμα ἔστρωτο, κατασπάσαντες τὰς  
 νέας ἔπλεον παρὰ τὴν ἠπείρου. κάμ-  
 ψαντες δὲ τὴν ἄκρην τῆς Μαγνησίης ἰθέαν ἔπλεον  
 5 ἐς τὸν κόλπον τὸν ἐπὶ Παγασέων φέροντα. ἔστι  
 δὲ χώρος ἐν τῷ κόλπῳ τούτῳ τῆς Μαγνησίης, ἔνθα  
 λέγεται τὸν Ἡρακλέα καταλειφθῆναι ὑπὸ Ἰήσονος  
 τε καὶ τῶν συνεταίρων, ἐκ τῆς Ἀργοῦς ἐπ' ὕδωρ  
 πεμφθέντα, εὖτ' ἐπὶ τὸ κῶας ἔπλεον ἐς Αἴαν τὴν  
 10 Κολχίδα. ἐνθεῦτεν γὰρ ἔμελλον ὑδρευσάμενοι ἐς  
 τὸ πέλαγος ἀφήσειν· ἐπὶ τούτου δὲ τῷ χώρῳ

The Persian  
 fleet at  
 Aphetae.



- οὕνομα γέγονε Ἀφέται. ἐν τούτῳ ὧν ὄρμον οἱ  
 194 Ξέρξεω ἐποιεῦντο. Πεντεκαίδεκα δὲ τῶν νεῶν του-  
 τέων ἔτυχόν τε ὕσταται πολλὸν ἔξαναχ-  
 θεῖσαι, καὶ κως κατείδον τὰς ἐπ' Ἀρτε-  
 μισίῳ τῶν Ἑλλήνων νέας· ἔδοξάν τε δὴ  
 τὰς σφετέρας εἶναι οἱ βάρβαροι, καὶ 5  
 πλείοντες ἐσέπεσον ἐς τοὺς πολεμίους· τῶν ἐστρα-  
 τήγεε ὁ ἀπὸ Κύμης τῆς Αἰολίδος ὑπαρχος Σανδώ-  
 κης ὁ Θαμασίου, τὸν δὴ πρότερον τούτων βασιλεὺς  
 Δαρεῖος, ἐπ' αἰτίῃ τοιῇδε λαβὼν, ἀνεσταύρωσε  
 ἐόντα τῶν βασιληῶν δικαστέων· ὁ Σανδώκης ἐπὶ 10  
 χρήμασι ἄδικον δίκην ἐδίκησε. ἀνακρεμασθέντος  
 ὧν αὐτοῦ λογιζόμενος ὁ Δαρεῖος εὐρέ οἱ πλέω  
 ἀγαθὰ τῶν ἀμαρτημάτων πεποιημένα ἐς οἶκον τὸν  
 βασιλῆϊον· εὐρὼν δὲ τοῦτο ὁ Δαρεῖος καὶ γνούς,  
 ὡς ταχύτερα αὐτὸς ἢ σοφώτερα ἐργασμένος εἶη, 15  
 ἔλυσε. βασιλέα μὲν δὴ Δαρεῖον οὕτω διαφυγὼν,  
 μὴ ἀπολέσθαι, περιῆν· τότε δὲ ἐς τοὺς Ἕλληνας  
 καταπλώσας ἔμελλε οὐ τὸ δεύτερον διαφυγὼν  
 ἔσεσθαι. ὥς γάρ σφεας εἶδον προσπλέοντας οἱ  
 Ἕλληνες, μαθόντες αὐτῶν τὴν γινομένην ἀμαρτάδα, 20  
 195 ἐπαναχθέντες εὐπετέως σφέας εἶλον. Ἐν τουτέων  
 μιῇ Ἀρίδωλις πλέων ἦλω, τύραννος  
 Ἀλαβάνδων τῶν ἐν Καρίῃ, ἐν ἐτέρῃ δὲ ὁ  
 Πάφιος στρατηγὸς Πενθύλος ὁ Δημονόου,  
 ὃς ἦγε μὲν δυνάδεκα νέας ἐκ Πάφου, ἀποβαλὼν δέ 5  
 σφεων τὰς ἑνδεκα τῷ χειμῶνι τῷ γενομένῳ κατὰ  
 Σηπιάδα, μιῇ τῇ περιγενομένῃ καταπλέων ἐπ'  
 Ἀρτεμίσιον ἦλω. τούτους οἱ Ἕλληνες, ἐξιστορή-  
 σαντες τὰ ἐβούλοντο πυθέσθαι ἀπὸ τῆς Ξέρξεω

Fifteen Per-  
 sian ships  
 captured.  
 Story of  
 Sandoces.

Distinguish-  
 ed prisoners  
 taken.

στρατιῆς, ἀποπέμπουσι δεδεμένους ἐς τὸν Κορινθίων Ἴσθμόν.

Ὁ μὲν δὲ ναυτικὸς ὁ τῶν βαρβάρων στρατὸς, 196  
 παρέξ τῶν πεντεκαίδεκα νεῶν, τῶν εἶπον  
 Σανδώκεα στρατηγέειν, ἀπίκητο ἐς Ἀφέ- March of Xerxes to Trachiniae.  
 τας. Ξέρξης δὲ καὶ ὁ πεζὸς, πορευθεὶς διὰ  
 5 Θεσσαλίας καὶ Ἀχαιῆς, ἐσβεβληκῶς ἦν καὶ δὴ  
 τριταῖος ἐς Μηλιέας, ἐν Θεσσαλίῃ μὲν ἄμιλλαν  
 ποιησάμενος ἵππων τῶν ἐωυτοῦ, ἀποπειρώμενος  
 καὶ τῆς Θεσσαλίας ἵππου, πυθόμενος ὡς ἀρίστη  
 εἶη τῶν ἐν Ἑλλησι· ἔνθα δὲ αἱ Ἑλληνίδες ἵπποι  
 10 ἐλείποντο πολλόν. Τῶν μὲν νυν ἐν Θεσσαλίῃ  
 ποταμῶν Ὀνόχωνος μῦθος οὐκ ἀπέχρησε τῇ  
 στρατιῇ τὸ ῥέθρον, πινόμενος· τῶν δὲ ἐν Ἀχαιῇ  
 ποταμῶν ῥεόντων οὐδὲ ὅστις ὁ μέγιστος αὐτῶν  
 ἐστὶ Ἡπιδανὸς, οὐδὲ οὗτος ἀντέσχε, εἰ μὴ φλαύ-  
 ρως. Ἐς Ἄλουν δὲ τῆς Ἀχαιῆς ἀπικομένῳ Ξέρξει 197  
 οἱ κατηγεμόνες τῆς ὁδοῦ, βουλόμενοι τὸ  
 πᾶν ἐξηγέεσθαι, ἔλεγον οἱ ἐπιχώριον Local legends: Laphystian Zeus.  
 λόγον, τὰ περὶ τὸ ἶρόν τοῦ Λαφυστίου  
 5 Διὸς, ὡς Ἀθάμας ὁ Αἰόλου ἐμηχανήσατο Φρίξῳ  
 μόρον, σὺν Ἴνοϊ βουλεύσας· μετέπειτα δὲ ὡς ἐκ  
 θεοπροπίου Ἀχαιοὶ προτιθεῖσι τοῖσι ἐκείνου ἀπο-  
 γόνοισι ἀέθλους τοιούσδε. ὃς ἂν ᾗ τοῦ γένεος  
 τούτου πρεσβύτατος, τούτῳ ἐπιτάξαντες ἔργεσθαι  
 10 τοῦ πρυτανηΐου, αὐτοὶ φυλακὰς ἔχουσι· λήϊτον  
 δὲ καλέουσι τὸ πρυτανήϊον οἱ Ἀχαιοί· ἦν δὲ  
 ἐσέλθῃ, οὐκ ἔστι ὅπως ἔξεισι, πρὶν ἢ θύσεσθαι  
 μέλλῃ. ὥς τε ἔτι πρὸς τούτοις πολλοὶ ἤδη τῶν  
 μελλόντων τούτων θύσεσθαι δείσαντες οἷχοντο

ἀποδράντες ἐς ἄλλην χώραν, χρόνου δὲ προϊόντος 15  
 ὁπίσω κατελθόντες, ἣν ἀλίσκωνται ἐσελθόντες ἐς τὸ  
 πρυτανήιον, ὡς θύεται τε, ἐξηγέοντο, στέμμασι πᾶς  
 πυκασθεῖς, καὶ ὡς σὺν πομπῇ ἐξαχθεῖς. ταῦτα  
 δὲ πάσχουσι οἱ Κυτισσώρου τοῦ Φρίξου παιδὸς  
 ἀπόγονοι, διότι καθαρμὸν τῆς χώρας ποιευμένων 20  
 Ἀχαιῶν ἐκ θεοπροπίου Ἀθάμαντα τὸν Αἰόλου καὶ  
 μελλόντων μιν θύειν, ἀπικόμενος οὗτος ὁ Κυτίσ-  
 σωρος ἐξ Αἴης τῆς Κολχίδος ἐρρύσατο· ποιήσας  
 δὲ τοῦτο τοῖσι ἐπιγενομένοισι ἐξ ἑωυτοῦ μῆνιν  
 τοῦ θεοῦ ἐνέβαλε. Ξέρξης δὲ ταῦτα ἀκούσας, 25  
 ὡς κατὰ τὸ ἄλσος ἐγένετο, αὐτὸς τε ἔργετο  
 αὐτοῦ καὶ τῇ στρατιῇ πάσῃ παρήγγειλε, τῶν τε  
 Ἀθάμαντος ἀπογόνων τὴν οἰκίην ὁμοίως καὶ τὸ  
 τέμενος ἐσέβετο.

198 Ταῦτα μὲν τὰ ἐν Θεσσαλίῃ καὶ τὰ ἐν Ἀχαιῇ.

Description  
 of the district.

Ἀπὸ δὲ τούτων τῶν χώρων ἥϊε ἐς τὴν  
 Μηλίδα παρὰ κόλπον θαλάσσης, ἐν τῷ  
 ἄμπωτίς τε καὶ ῥηχίῃ ἀνὰ πᾶσαν ἡμέρην γίνεται.  
 περὶ δὲ τὸν κόλπον τοῦτόν ἐστι χώρος πεδινὸς, τῇ 5  
 μὲν εὐρὺς, τῇ δὲ καὶ κάρτα στεινός. περὶ δὲ τὸν  
 χώρον οὖρεα ὑψηλὰ καὶ ἄβατα περικληῖται πᾶσαν  
 τὴν Μηλίδα γῆν, Τρηχίνιαι πέτραι καλεόμεναι.  
 πρώτη μὲν νυν πόλις ἐστὶ ἐν τῷ κόλπῳ ἰόντι ἀπὸ  
 Ἀχαιῆς Ἀντικύρη, παρ' ἣν ποταμὸς Σπερχεῖος, 10  
 ῥέων ἐξ Ἐνιήνων, ἐς θάλασσαν ἐκδιδοί. ἀπὸ δὲ  
 τούτου διὰ εἴκοσιν σταδίω ἀλλος ποταμὸς, τῷ  
 οὖνομα κεῖται Δύρας, τὸν βοηθέοντα τῷ Ἡρακλεῖ  
 καιομένῳ λόγος ἐστὶ ἀναφανῆναι. ἀπὸ δὲ τούτου  
 δι' ἄλλων εἴκοσιν σταδίω ἀλλος ποταμὸς ἐστὶ, ὃς 15

καλέεται Μέλας. Τρηχίς δὲ πόλις ἀπὸ τοῦ Μέλα- 199  
 νος τούτου ποταμοῦ πέντε στάδια ἀπέχει.

ταύτη δὲ καὶ εὐρύτατόν ἐστι πάσης τῆς Trachinian  
plain; the  
Asopus, etc.  
 χώρας ταύτης ἐκ τῶν οὐρέων ἐς θάλασ-

5 σαν, κατ' ἃ Τρηχίς πεπόλισται· δισχίλιά τε γὰρ  
 καὶ δισμύρια πλέθρα τοῦ πεδίου ἐστί. τοῦ δὲ  
 οὐρεος, τὸ περικληῖει τὴν γῆν τὴν Τρηχινίην, ἐστι  
 διασφάξ πρὸς μεσαμβρίην Τρηχίνος, διὰ δὲ τῆς  
 διασφάγος Ἀσωπὸς ποταμὸς ῥέει παρὰ τὴν ὑπω-  
 10 ρήν τοῦ οὐρεος. Ἔστι δὲ ἄλλος Φοῖνιξ ποταμὸς 200

οὐ μέγας πρὸς μεσαμβρίην τοῦ Ἀσωποῦ, ὃς ἐκ τῶν  
 οὐρέων τούτων ῥέων ἐς τὸν Ἀσωπὸν ἐκδιδού. Κατὰ  
 δὲ τὸν Φοῖνικα ποταμὸν στενωτότατόν ἐστι· ἀμαξι-  
 5 τὸς γὰρ μία μούνη δέδμηται· ἀπὸ δὲ τοῦ Φοίνικος  
 ποταμοῦ πεντεκαίδεκα στάδια ἐστι ἐς Θερμο-  
 πύλας. ἐν δὲ τῷ μεταξὺ Φοίνικος ποταμοῦ καὶ  
 Θερμοπυλέων κώμη τέ ἐστί, τῇ οὖνομα Ἀνθήλη  
 κεῖται, παρ' ἣν δὴ παραρρέων ὁ Ἀσωπὸς ἐς θάλασ-  
 10 σαν ἐκδιδού, καὶ χῶρος περὶ αὐτὴν εὐρύς, ἐν τῷ  
 Δήμητρος τε ἱρὸν Ἀμφικτυονίδος ἱδρυται, καὶ  
 ἔδραι εἰσὶ Ἀμφικτυόσι, καὶ αὐτοῦ τοῦ Ἀμφικτυόνος  
 ἱρὸν. Βασιλεὺς μὲν δὴ Ξέρξης ἐστρατοπεδεύετο 201

τῆς Μηλίδος ἐν τῇ Τρηχινίῃ, οἱ δὲ δὴ  
 Ἕλληνες ἐν τῇ διόδῳ. καλέεται δὲ ὁ Position of  
the two  
armies.  
 χῶρος οὗτος ὑπὸ μὲν τῶν πλεόνων Ἑλ-

5 λήνων Θερμοπύλαι, ὑπὸ δὲ τῶν ἐπιχωρίων καὶ  
 περιοίκων Πύλαι. ἐστρατοπεδεύοντο μὲν νυν  
 ἑκάτεροι ἐν τούτοις τοῖς χωρίοις. ἐπεκράτεε δὲ  
 ὁ μὲν τῶν πρὸς βορρην ἄνεμον ἐχόντων πάντων  
 μέχρι Τρηχίνος, οἱ δὲ τῶν πρὸς νότον καὶ



μεσαμβρίην φερόντων τὸ ἐπὶ ταύτης τῆς ἡπεί- 10  
ρου.

202 Ἦσαν δὲ οἶδε Ἑλλήνων οἱ ὑπομένοντες τὸν  
Πέρσῃ ἐν τούτῳ τῷ χώρῳ. Σπαρτιητέων  
The Greek contingents. τε τριηκόσιοι ὀπλῖται, καὶ Τεγεατέων καὶ  
Μαντινέων χίλιοι, ἡμίσεες ἑκατέρων, ἐξ Ὀρχομενοῦ  
τε τῆς Ἀρκαδίας εἴκοσι καὶ ἑκατὸν, καὶ ἐκ τῆς 5  
λοιπῆς Ἀρκαδίας χίλιοι· τοσοῦτοι μὲν Ἀρκάδων·  
ἀπὸ δὲ Κορίνθου τετρακόσιοι, καὶ ἀπὸ Φλιοῦντος  
διηκόσιοι, καὶ Μυκηναίων ὀγδῶκοντα. οὗτοι μὲν  
ἀπὸ Πελοποννήσου παρῆσαν. ἀπὸ δὲ Βοιωτῶν,  
Θεσπιέων τε ἑπτακόσιοι καὶ Θηβαίων τετρακόσιοι. 10

203 Πρὸς τούτοισι ἐπὶ κλητοὶ ἐγένοντο Λοκροὶ τε οἱ  
Ὀπούντιοι πανστρατιῇ καὶ Φωκέων  
Their hopes of success. χίλιοι. αὐτοὶ γὰρ σφεας ἐπεκαλέσαντο  
οἱ Ἕλληνες, λέγοντες δι' ἀγγέλων, ὥς αὐτοὶ μὲν  
ἤκοιεν πρόδρομοι τῶν ἄλλων, οἱ δὲ λοιποὶ τῶν 5  
συμμάχων προσδόκιμοι πᾶσαν εἶεν ἡμέρην, ἢ  
θάλασσά τε σφί εἴη ἐν φυλακῇ, ὑπ' Ἀθηναίων τε  
φρουρεομένη καὶ Αἰγινητέων καὶ τῶν ἐς τὸν ναυτι-  
κὸν στρατὸν ταχθέντων, καὶ σφί εἴη δεινὸν οὐδέν·  
οὐ γὰρ θεὸν εἶναι τὸν ἐπιόντα ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα, ἀλλ' 10  
ἄνθρωπον· εἶναι δὲ θνητὸν οὐδένα, οὐδὲ ἔσεσθαι,  
τῷ κακὸν ἐξ ἀρχῆς γινομένῳ οὐ συνεμίχθη, τοῖσι δὲ  
μεγίστοισι αὐτῶν μέγιστα. ὀφείλειεν ὦν καὶ τὸν  
ἐπελαύνοντα, ὥς ἔοντα θνητὸν, ἀπὸ τῆς δόξης πεσεῖν  
ἄν. Οἱ δὲ ταῦτα πυνθανόμενοι ἐβόηθον ἐς τὴν 15

204 Τρηχίνα. Τούτοισι ἦσαν μὲν νυν καὶ ἄλλοι στρα-  
Leonidas. τηγοὶ κατὰ πόλιας ἐκάστων, ὁ δὲ θω-  
μαζόμενος μάλιστα καὶ παντὸς τοῦ στρατεύματος

ἡγεόμενος, Λακεδαιμόνιος ἦν Λεωνίδης, ὁ Ἀναξαν-  
 5 δρίδew, τοῦ Λέοντος, τοῦ Εὐρυκρατίδew, <sup>His genealogy.</sup>  
 τοῦ Ἀναξάνδρου, τοῦ Εὐρυκράτεος, τοῦ  
 Πολυδώρου, τοῦ Ἀλκαμένεος, τοῦ Τηλέκλου, τοῦ  
 Ἀρχέλεω, τοῦ Ἠγησίλεω, τοῦ Δορύσσου, τοῦ  
 Λεωβότεω, τοῦ Ἐχέστράτου, τοῦ Ἡγίος, τοῦ Εὐ-  
 10 ρυσθένεος, τοῦ Ἀριστοδήμου, τοῦ Ἀριστομάχου,  
 τοῦ Κλεοδαίου, τοῦ Ὑλλου, τοῦ Ἡρακλέος, κτησά-  
 μενος τὴν βασιληΐην ἐν Σπάρτῃ ἐξ ἀπροσδοκήτου.  
 Διξῶν γάρ οἱ ἑόντων πρεσβυτέρων ἀδελφεῶν, 205  
 Κλεομένεός τε καὶ Δωριέος, ἀπελήλατο  
 τῆς φροντίδος περὶ τῆς βασιληΐης. ἀπο-  
 θανόντος δὲ Κλεομένεος ἄπαιδος ἔρσηνος  
 5 γόνου, Δωριέος τε οὐκέτι ἑόντος, ἀλλὰ  
 τελευτήσαντος καὶ τούτου ἐν Σικελίῃ, οὕτω δὲ ἐς  
 Λεωνίδην ἀνέβαινε ἡ βασιληΐη, καὶ διότι πρότερος  
 ἐγεγόνεε Κλεομβρότου (οὗτος γὰρ ἦν νεώτατος  
 Ἀναξανδρίδew παῖς), καὶ δὴ καὶ εἶχε Κλεομένεος  
 10 θυγατέρα. Ὅς τότε ἦε ἐς Θερμοπύλας, ἐπιλεξά-  
 μενος ἄνδρας τε τοὺς κατεστειώτας τριηκοσίους  
 καὶ τοῖσι ἐτύγχανον παῖδες ἑόντες. παραλαβὼν  
 δὲ ἀπῆκετο καὶ Θηβαίων τοὺς ἐς τὸν ἀριθμὸν  
 λογισάμενος εἶπον, τῶν ἐστρατήγεε Λεοντιάδης ὁ  
 15 Εὐρυμάχου. τοῦδε δὲ εἵνεκεν τούτους σπουδὴν  
 ἐποιήσατο Λεωνίδης μούνους Ἑλλήνων παραλα-  
 βεῖν, ὅτι σφέων μεγάλως κατηγόρητο μηδίζειν.  
 παρεκάλεε ὦν ἐς τὸν πόλεμον, θέλων εἰδέναι, εἴ τε  
 συμπέμψουσιν, εἴ τε καὶ ἀπερέουσιν ἐκ τοῦ ἐμφα-  
 20 νέος τὴν Ἑλλήνων σύμμαχιν. οἱ δὲ ἄλλοφρο-  
 νέοντες ἔπεμπον. Τούτους μὲν τοὺς ἀμφὶ Λεωνί- 206

δην πρώτους ἀπέπεμψαν Σπαρτιῆται, ἵνα τούτους  
 ἱρῶντες οἱ ἄλλοι σύμμαχοι στρατεύον-  
 ται, μηδὲ καὶ οὗτοι μηδίσωσι, ἣν αὐτοὺς  
 πυνθάνωνται ὑπερβαλλομένους. μετὰ 5  
 δὲ, Κάρνεια γάρ σφι ἦν ἐμποδῶν, ἔμελλον, ὀρτά-  
 σαντες καὶ φυλακὰς λιπόντες ἐν τῇ Σπάρτῃ, κατὰ  
 τάχος βοηθέειν πανδημεί. ὥς δὲ καὶ οἱ λοιποὶ  
 τῶν συμμάχων ἐννένωντο καὶ αὐτοὶ ἕτερα τοιαῦτα  
 ποιήσιν· ἦν γὰρ κατὰ τὸντοῦτο Ὀλυμπιάς τούτοις 10  
 τοῖσι πρήγμασι συμπεσοῦσα. οὐκὼν δοκέοντες  
 κατὰ τάχος οὕτω διακριθήσεσθαι τὸν ἐν Θερμο-  
 πύλῃσι πόλεμον ἔπεμπον τοὺς προδρόμους. οὗτοι  
 μὲν δὴ οὕτω διενένωντο ποιήσιν.

207 Οἱ δὲ ἐν Θερμοπύλῃσι Ἕλληνες, ἐπειδὴ πέλας  
 ἐγένετο τῆς ἐσβολῆς ὁ Πέρσης, καταρρω-  
 δέοντες ἐβουλευόντο περὶ ἀπαλλαγῆς·  
 τοῖσι μὲν νυν ἄλλοις Πελοποννησίοις ἐδόκεε,  
 ἐλθοῦσι ἐς Πελοπόννησον, τὸν Ἴσθμὸν ἔχειν ἐν 5  
 φυλακῇ· Λεωνίδης δὲ, Φωκέων καὶ Λοκρῶν περι-  
 σπερχεόντων τῇ γνώμῃ ταύτῃ, αὐτοῦ τε μένειν  
 ἐψηφίζετο, πέμπειν τε ἀγγέλους ἐς τὰς πόλεις,  
 κελεύοντάς σφι ἐπιβοηθέειν, ὥς ἐόντων αὐτῶν  
 208 ὀλίγων στρατὸν τῶν Μήδων ἀλέξασθαι. Ταῦτα

How the  
 Greeks pre-  
 pared for the  
 battle.

βουλευομένων σφέων ἔπεμπε Ξέρξης  
 κατάσκοπον ἱππέα ιδέσθαι, ὁκόσοι τέ  
 εἰσι καὶ ὅ τι ποιοῖεν. ἀκηκόεε δὲ ἔτι  
 ἐὼν ἐν Θεσσαλίῃ, ὥς ἀλισμένη εἴη ταύτῃ στρατιῇ 5  
 ὀλίγῃ, καὶ τοὺς ἡγεμόνας, ὥς εἶησαν Λακεδαιμόνιοί  
 τε καὶ Λεωνίδης, ἐὼν γένος Ἡρακλείδης. ὥς δὲ  
 προσέλασε ὁ ἱππεὺς πρὸς τὸ στρατόπεδον, ἐθηεῖτό

τε καὶ κατώρα πᾶν μὲν οὐ τὸ στρατόπεδον· τοὺς  
 10 γὰρ ἔσω τεταγμένους τοῦ τείχεος, τὸ ἀνορθώσαν-  
 τες εἶχον ἐν φυλακῇ, οὐκ οἶά τε ἦν κατιδέσθαι·  
 ὁ δὲ τοὺς ἔξω ἐμάνθανε, τοῖσι πρὸ τοῦ τείχεος τὰ  
 ὄπλα ἔκειτο. ἔτυχον δὲ τοῦτον τὸν χρόνον Λακε-  
 15 ναζομένους τῶν ἀνδρῶν, τοὺς δὲ τὰς κόμας κτενι-  
 ζομένους. ταῦτα δὴ θεώμενος ἐθώμαζε, καὶ τὸ  
 πλήθος ἐμάνθανε. μαθὼν δὲ πάντα ἀτρεκέως,  
 ἀπήλαυνε ὀπίσω κατ' ἡσυχίην· οὔτε γάρ τις  
 ἐδίδωκε, ἀλογίης τε ἐνεκύρησε πολλῆς. ἀπελθὼν  
 20 δὲ ἔλεγε πρὸς Ξέρξεα, τὰ περ ὀπώπее πάντα.  
 Ἀκούων δὲ Ξέρξης οὐκ εἶχε συμβαλέσθαι τὸ ἐόν, 209  
 ὅτι παρασκευάζουσιν ὡς ἀπολεόμενοι τε  
 καὶ ἀπολέοντες κατὰ δύναμιν· ἀλλ' Astonish-  
ment of  
Xerxes: ex-  
planation of  
Demaratus.  
 αὐτῷ γελοῖα γὰρ ἐφαίνοντο ποιεῖν, μετ-  
 5 ἐπέμψατο Δημάρητον τὸν Ἀρίστωνος  
 εὐόντα ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ. ἀπικόμενον δέ μιν  
 εἰρώτα Ξέρξης ἕκαστα τούτων, ἐθέλων μαθεῖν τὸ  
 ποιεύμενον πρὸς τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων. Ὁ δὲ εἶπε·  
 Ἦκουσας μὲν μεν καὶ πρότερον, εὔτε ὁρμῶμεν ἐπὶ  
 10 τὴν Ἑλλάδα, περὶ τῶν ἀνδρῶν τούτων· ἀκούσας  
 δὲ γέλωτά με ἔθεν, λέγοντα τὰ περ ὥρων ἐκβησό-  
 μενα πρήγματα ταῦτα. ἐμοὶ γὰρ τὴν ἀληθείην  
 ἀσκέειν ἀντία σεῦ, ὦ βασιλεῦ, ἀγὼν μέγιστός ἐστι.  
 ἄκουσον δὲ καὶ νῦν. Οἱ ἄνδρες οὔτοι ἀπίκαται  
 15 μαχεσόμενοι ἡμῖν περὶ τῆς ἐσόδου, καὶ ταῦτα  
 παρασκευάζονται. νόμος γάρ σφι οὔτω ἔχων ἐστί.  
 ἐπεὰν μέλλωσι κινδυνεύειν τῇ ψυχῇ, τότε τὰς  
 κεφαλὰς κοσμέονται. ἐπίστασο δὲ, εἰ τούτους τε



καὶ τὸ ὑπομένον ἐν Σπάρτῃ καταστρέψαι, ἔστι οὐδὲν ἄλλο ἔθνος ἀνθρώπων, τὸ σὲ, βασιλεῦ, ὑπο- 20  
μενέει χεῖρας ἀνταειρόμενον. νῦν γὰρ πρὸς βασι-  
ληϊν τε καὶ καλλίστην πόλιν τῶν ἐν Ἑλλησι  
προσφέρειαι καὶ ἀνδρας ἀρίστους. Κάρτα τε δὴ  
ἄπιστα Ξέρξῃ ἐφαίνετο τὰ λεγόμενα εἶναι, καὶ  
δεύτερα ἐπειρώτα, ὅντινα τρόπον, τοσοῦτοι εὐόντες, 25  
τῇ ἐωυτοῦ στρατιῇ μαχέσονται. Ὁ δὲ εἶπε· ὦ  
βασιλεῦ, ἐμοὶ χρᾶσθαι ὡς ἀνδρὶ ψεύστῃ, ἣν μὴ  
ταῦτά τοι ταύτῃ ἐκβῇ, τῇ ἐγὼ λέγω.

210 Ταῦτα λέγων οὐκ ἔπειθε τὸν Ξέρξῃ. Τέσσε-  
ρας μὲν δὴ παρεξήκε ἡμέρας, ἐλπίζων  
αἰεὶ σφεας ἀποδρῆσθαι. πέμπτῃ δὲ, ὡς  
οὐκ ἀπαλλάσσοντο, ἀλλὰ οἱ ἐφαίνοντο  
ἀναιδεῖν τε καὶ ἀβουλίῃ διαχρεώμενοι μένειν, πέμ- 5  
πει ἐπ' αὐτοὺς Μήδους τε καὶ Κισσίους θυμωθεῖς,  
ἐντειλάμενός σφεας ζωγρήσαντας ἄγειν ἐς ὄψιν  
τὴν ἐωυτοῦ. Ὡς δ' ἐπέπεσον φερόμενοι ἐς τοὺς  
Ἑλληνας οἱ Μῆδοι, ἐπιπτον πολλοί· ἄλλοι δ'  
ἐπεσήϊσαν, καὶ οὐκ ἀπήλαννον, καίπερ μεγάλως 10  
προσπταῖοντες. δῆλον δ' ἐποίησαν παντὶ τεῷ, καὶ  
οὐκ ἥκιστα αὐτῷ βασιλεῖ, ὅτι πολλοὶ μὲν ἀνθρω-  
ποι εἶεν, ὀλίγοι δὲ ἄνδρες. ἐγίνετο δὲ ἡ συμβολή  
211 δι' ἡμέρης. Ἐπεὶ τε δὲ οἱ Μῆδοι τρηχέως περιεί-

Renewed  
attack: re-  
pulse of the  
Immortals.

ποντο, ἐνθαῦτα οὗτοι μὲν ὑπεξήϊσαν, οἱ  
δὲ Πέρσαι ἐκδεξάμενοι ἐπήϊσαν, τοὺς  
ἀθανάτους ἐκάλεε βασιλεὺς, τῶν ἡρχε  
Ἰδάρνης, ὡς δὴ οὗτοί γε εὐπετέως κατεργασόμενοι. 5  
Ὡς δὲ καὶ οὗτοι συνέμισγον τοῖσι Ἑλλησι, οὐδὲν  
πλέον ἐφέροντο τῆς στρατιῆς τῆς Μηδικῆς, ἀλλὰ

τὰ αὐτὰ, ἅτε ἐν στεينوπόρῳ τε χώρῳ μαχόμενοι,  
καὶ δόρασι βραχυτέροισι χρεώμενοι ἥπερ οἱ Ἕλλη-  
10 νες, καὶ οὐκ ἔχοντες πλήθει χρῆσασθαι. Λακεδαι-  
μόνιοι δὲ ἐμάχοντο ἀξίως λόγου, ἄλλα τε ἀποδεικ-  
νύμενοι ἐν οὐκ ἐπισταμένοισι μάχεσθαι ἐξεπιστά-  
μενοι, καὶ ὅπως ἐντρέψειαν τὰ νῶτα, ἀλέες φεύγε-  
σκον δῆθεν· οἱ δὲ βάρβαροι ὀρέωντες φεύγοντας  
15 βοῇ τε καὶ πατάγῳ ἐπήϊσαν· οἱ δ' ἂν καταλαμ-  
βανόμενοι ὑπέστρεφον ἀντίοι εἶναι τοῖσι βαρβά-  
ροισι· μεταστρεφόμενοι δὲ κατέβαλλον πλήθει  
ἀναριθμήτους τῶν Περσέων. ἔπιπτον δὲ καὶ  
αὐτῶν τῶν Σπαρτιητέων ἐνθαῦτα ὀλίγοι. Ἐπεὶ  
20 δὲ οὐδὲν ἐδυνάετο παραλαβεῖν οἱ Πέρσαι τῆς  
ἐσόδου πειρώμενοι, καὶ κατὰ τέλεα καὶ παντοίως  
προσβάλλοντες, ἀπήλαυνον ὀπίσω. Ἐν ταύτησι 212  
τῇσι προσόδοισι τῆς μάχης λέγεται βα-  
σιλέα θηεύμενον τρὶς ἀναδραμεῖν ἐκ τοῦ  
θρόνου, δείσαντα περὶ τῇ στρατιῇ. τότε  
5 μὲν οὕτω ἡγωνίσαντο. Τῇ δ' ὑστεραίῃ οἱ  
βάρβαροι οὐδὲν ἄμεινον ἀέθλεον. ἅτε γὰρ ὀλίγων  
έόντων, ἐλπίσαντές σφεας κατατετρωματίσθαι τε  
καὶ οὐκ οἴους τε ἔσεσθαι ἔτι χεῖρας ἀνταείρασθαι  
συνέβαλλον. οἱ δὲ Ἕλληνες κατὰ τάξιν τε καὶ  
10 κατὰ ἔθνεα κεκοσμημένοι ἦσαν, καὶ ἐν μέρει ἕκασ-  
τοι ἐμάχοντο, πλὴν Φωκέων· οὗτοι δὲ ἐς τὸ  
οὖρος ἐτάχθησαν, φυλάξοντες τὴν ἀτραπὸν. Ὡς  
δὲ οὐδὲν εὗρισκον ἀλλοιότερον οἱ Πέρσαι ἢ τῇ  
προτεραίῃ ἐνῶρων, ἀπήλαυνον.

Second day  
of conflict:  
the Greeks  
still success-  
ful.

Ἀπορέοντος δὲ βασιλέος, ὃ τι χρήσεται τῷ 213  
παρέοντι πρήγματι, Ἐπιάλτης ὁ Εὐρυδήμου, ἀνὴρ

Μηλιεὺς, ἦλθέ οἱ ἐς λόγους, ὥς μέγα τι παρὰ  
 βασιλέος δοκέων οἴσσεσθαι· ἔφρασε τε  
 τὴν ἀτραπὸν τὴν διὰ τοῦ οὐρεος φέρου- 5  
 σαν ἐς Θερμοπύλας, καὶ διέφθειρε τοὺς  
 ταύτῃ ὑπομείναντας Ἑλλήνων. ὕστερον δὲ δείσας  
 Λακεδαιμονίους ἔφυγε ἐς Θεσσαλίην· καὶ οἱ  
 φυγόντι ὑπὸ τῶν Πυλαγόρων, τῶν [Ἀμφικτυόνων]  
 ἐς τὴν Πυλαίην συλληγομένων, ἀργύριον ἐπεκη- 10  
 ρύχθη. χρόνῳ δὲ ὕστερον, κατῆλθε γὰρ ἐς Ἀντι-  
 κύρην, ἀπέθανε ὑπὸ Ἀθηνάδεω, ἀνδρὸς Τρηχινίου.  
 ὁ δὲ Ἀθηνάδης οὗτος ἀπέκτεινε μὲν Ἐπιάλτην δι'  
 ἄλλην αἰτίην, τὴν ἐγὼ ἐν τοῖσι ὀπισθε λόγοισι  
 σημανέω· ἐτιμήθη μέντοι ὑπὸ Λακεδαιμονίων 15  
 οὐδὲν ἕσσον. Ἐπιάλτης μὲν οὕτω ὕστερον τούτων  
 214 ἀπέθανε. Ἔστι δὲ ἕτερος λεγόμενος λόγος, ὥς  
 Ὀνήτης τε ὁ Φαναγόρεω, ἀνὴρ Καρύ-  
 στιος, καὶ Κορυδαλλὸς Ἀντικυρεὺς, εἰσὶ  
 οἱ εἴπαντες πρὸς βασιλέα τούτους τοὺς λόγους,  
 καὶ περιηγησάμενοι τὸ οὖρος τοῖσι Πέρσησι, οὐ- 5  
 δαμῶς ἐμοί γε πιστός. τοῦτο μὲν γὰρ τῷδε χρὴ  
 σταθμώσασθαι, ὅτι οἱ τῶν Ἑλλήνων Πυλαγόροι  
 ἐπεκέρυξαν οὐκ ἐπὶ Ὀνήτῃ τε καὶ Κορυδαλλῷ  
 ἀργύριον, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ Ἐπιάλτῃ τῷ Τρηχινίῳ, πάντως  
 κου τὸ ἀτρεκέστατον πυθόμενοι· τοῦτο δὲ φεύ- 10  
 γοντα τὸν Ἐπιάλτην ταύτην τὴν αἰτίην οἶδαμεν.  
 εἰδείη μὲν γὰρ ἂν, καὶ ἐὼν μὴ Μηλιεὺς, ταύτην  
 τὴν ἀτραπὸν Ὀνήτης, εἰ τῇ χώρῃ πολλὰ ὠμιλη-  
 κῶς εἶη· ἀλλ' Ἐπιάλτης γὰρ ἔστι ὁ περιηγησά-  
 μενος τὸ οὖρος κατὰ τὴν ἀτραπὸν, τοῦτον αἵτιον 15  
 215 γράφω. Ξέρξης δὲ, ἐπεὶ οἱ ἤρεσε τὰ ὑπέσχετο ὁ

Disclosure of  
 the mountain  
 path to  
 Xerxes.

Epialtes the  
 traitor.

Ἐπιάλτης κατεργάσασθαι, αὐτίκα περιχαρὴς γε-  
νόμενος ἔπεμπε Ὑδάρνεα, καὶ τῶν ἐστρα-  
τήγεε Ὑδάρνης. ὠρμέατο δὲ περὶ λύχων Departure of  
Hydarnes  
and the Im-  
mortals.  
5 ἀφὰς ἐκ τοῦ στρατοπέδου. Τὴν δὲ ἀτρα-  
πὸν ταύτην ἐξεῦρον μὲν οἱ ἐπιχώριοι Μηλιέες,  
ἐξευρόντες δὲ Θεσσαλοῖσι κατηγήσαντο ἐπὶ Φω-  
κέας τότε, ὅτε οἱ Φωκέες, φράξαντες τείχεϊ τὴν  
ἐσβολὴν, ἦσαν ἐν σκέπῃ τοῦ πολέμου. ἔκ τε τούτου  
10 δὴ κατεδέδεκτο ἐοῦσα οὐδὲν χρηστὴ Μηλιεύσι.  
Ἔχει δὲ ὧδε ἡ ἀτραπὸς αὕτη. ἄρχεται μὲν ἀπὸ 216  
τοῦ Ἀσωποῦ ποταμοῦ τοῦ διὰ τῆς δια-  
σφάγος ῥέοντος· οὐνομα δὲ τῷ οὔρεϊ The path  
named  
Anopaea.  
τούτῳ καὶ τῇ ἀτραπῷ τὸντὸ κεῖται, Ἀνό-  
5 πια. τείνει δὲ ἡ Ἀνόπαια αὕτη κατὰ ῥάχιν τοῦ  
οὔρεος, λήγει δὲ κατὰ τε Ἀλπηνὸν πόλιν, πρώτην  
ἐοῦσαν τῶν Λοκρίδων πρὸς τῶν Μηλιέων, καὶ  
κατὰ Μελάμπυγόν τε καλεόμενον λίθον καὶ κατὰ  
Κερκώπων ἔδρας, τῇ καὶ τὸ στεινότατόν ἐστι.  
Κατὰ ταύτην δὴ τὴν ἀτραπὸν καὶ οὕτω ἔχουσιν 217  
οἱ Πέρσαι, τὸν Ἀσωπὸν διαβάντες, ἐπο-  
ρεύοντο πᾶσαν τὴν νύκτα, ἐν δεξιῇ μὲν March of  
Hydarnes.  
ἔχοντες οὔρεα τὰ Οἰταίων, ἐν ἀριστερῇ δὲ τὰ  
5 Τρηχινίων· ἡὼς τε δὴ διέφαινε, καὶ ἐγένοντο ἐπ’  
ἀκρωτηρίῳ τοῦ οὔρεος. Κατὰ δὲ τοῦτο τοῦ οὔρεος  
ἐφύλασσον, ὥς καὶ πρότερόν μοι δεδήλωται, Φω-  
κέων χίλιοι ὀπλῖται, ῥυόμενοί τε τὴν σφετέρην  
χώρην καὶ φρουρέοντες τὴν ἀτραπὸν. ἡ μὲν γὰρ  
10 κάτω ἐσβολὴ ἐφυλάσσετο ὑπὸ τῶν εἴρηται, τὴν δὲ  
διὰ τοῦ οὔρεος ἀτραπὸν ἐθελονταὶ Φωκέες ὑποδε-  
ξάμενοι Λεωνίδῃ ἐφυλάσσον. Ἐμαθον δὲ σφεας 218



οἱ Φωκέες ὧδε ἀναβεβηκότας· ἀναβαίνοντες γὰρ  
 ἐλάνθανον οἱ Πέρσαι, τὸ οὖρος πᾶν ἐὼν  
 δρυῶν ἐπίπλεον· ἦν μὲν δὴ νηνεμία,  
 ψόφου δὲ γινομένου πολλοῦ, ὥς οἶκος 5  
 ἦν, φύλλων ὑποκεχυμένων ὑπὸ τοῖσι ποσὶ, ἀνά τε  
 ἔδραμον οἱ Φωκέες καὶ ἐνέδυνον τὰ ὄπλα· καὶ αὐ-  
 τήκα οἱ βάρβαροι παρήσαν. ὥς δὲ εἶδον ἄνδρας  
 ἐνδυομένους ὄπλα, ἐν θώματι ἐγένοντο· ἐλπό-  
 μενοι γὰρ οὐδέν σφι φανήσεσθαι ἀντίξοον, ἐνεκύ- 10  
 ρησαν στρατῷ. Ἐνθαῦτα Ὑδάρνης καταρρωδή-  
 σας, μὴ οἱ Φωκέες ἔωσι Λακεδαιμόνιοι, εἴρετο τὸν  
 Ἐπιάλτην ὁποδαπὸς εἴη ὁ στρατός· πυθόμενος  
 δὲ ἀτρεκέως διέτασσε τοὺς Πέρσας ὥς ἐς μάχην.  
 οἱ δὲ Φωκέες, ὥς ἐβάλλοντο τοῖσι τοξεύμασι πολ- 15  
 λοῖσί τε καὶ πυκνοῖσι, οἷχοντο φεύγοντες ἐπὶ τοῦ  
 οὔρεος τὸν κόρυμβον, ἐπιστάμενοι ὥς ἐπὶ σφέας  
 ὠρμήθησαν ἀρχὴν, καὶ παρεσκευάδατο ὥς ἀπολεό-  
 μενοι. οὗτοι μὲν δὴ ταῦτα ἐφρόνεον· οἱ δὲ ἀμφὶ  
 Ἐπιάλτην καὶ Ὑδάρνεα Πέρσαι Φωκέων μὲν 20  
 οὐδένα λόγον ἐποιεῦντο, οἱ δὲ κατέβαινον τὸ οὖρος  
 κατὰ τάχος.

219 Τοῖσι δὲ ἐν Θερμοπύλῃσι εἴουσι Ἑλλήνων

Second Coun-  
 cil of war.  
 Retreat of  
 the allies.

πρῶτον μὲν ὁ μάντις Μεγιστίης, ἐσιδὼν  
 ἐς τὰ ἱρὰ, ἔφρασε τὸν μέλλοντα ἔσεσθαι  
 ἅμα ἡοὶ σφι θάνατον· ἐπὶ δὲ καὶ αὐτόμολοι  
 ἦσαν οἱ ἐξαγγεῖλαντες τῶν Περσέων τὴν περίοδον· 5  
 οὗτοι μὲν ἔτι νυκτὸς ἐσήμηναν, τρίτοι δὲ οἱ ἡμερο-  
 σκόποι, καταδραμόντες ἀπὸ τῶν ἄκρων, ἤδη δια-  
 φαινούσης ἡμέρης· ἐνθαῦτα ἐβουλεύοντο οἱ Ἑλ-  
 ληνες, καὶ σφεων ἐσχίζοντο αἱ γνώμαι. οἱ μὲν

10 γὰρ οὐκ ἔων τὴν τάξιν ἐκλιπεῖν, οἱ δὲ ἀντέτεινον.  
 μετὰ δὲ τοῦτο διακριθέντες οἱ μὲν ἀπαλλάσσοντο  
 καὶ διασκεδασθέντες κατὰ πόλιν ἕκαστοι ἐτρά-  
 ποντο, οἱ δὲ αὐτῶν ἅμα Λεωνίδῃ μένειν αὐτοῦ  
 παρασκευάδατο. Λέγεται δὲ, ὡς αὐτός σφεας 220  
 ἀπέπεμψε Λεωνίδης, μὴ ἀπόλωνται, Self-devotion  
 of Leonidas ;  
 his faith in  
 an oracle.  
 κηδόμενος· αὐτῷ δὲ καὶ Σπαρτιητέων  
 τοῖσι παρεούσι οὐκ ἔχειν εὐπρεπέως ἐκ-

5 λιπεῖν τὴν τάξιν, ἐς τὴν ἦλθον φυλάξοντες ἀρχήν.  
 Ταύτῃ καὶ μᾶλλον τῇ γνώμῃ πλείστός εἰμι,  
 Λεωνίδην, ἐπεὶ τε ἦσθετο τοὺς συμμάχους ἔοντας  
 ἀπροθύμους καὶ οὐκ ἐθέλοντας συνδιακινδυνεύειν,  
 κελεῦσαί σφεας ἀπαλλάσσεσθαι· αὐτῷ δὲ ἀπιέναι  
 10 οὐ καλῶς ἔχειν· μένοντι δὲ αὐτοῦ κλέος μέγα  
 ἐλείπετο, καὶ ἡ Σπάρτης εὐδαιμονίῃ οὐκ ἐξηλεί-  
 φετο. ἐκέχρηστο γὰρ ὑπὸ τῆς Πυθίης τοῖσι  
 Σπαρτιητήσιν χρεωμένοισι περὶ τοῦ πολέμου τού-  
 του αὐτίκα κατ' ἀρχὰς ἐγειρομένου, ἢ Λακεδαίμονα  
 15 ἀνάστατον γενέσθαι ὑπὸ τῶν βαρβάρων, ἢ τὸν  
 βασιλέα σφέων ἀπολέσθαι. ταῦτα δὲ σφι· ἐν  
 ἔπεσι ἐξαμέτροισι ἔχοντα χρᾶ, λέγοντα ὧδε·

Ὑμῖν δ', ὦ Σπάρτης οἰκήτορες εὐρυχόροιο,  
 ἢ μέγα ἄστν ἐρικυδὲς ὑπ' ἀνδράσι Περσείδῃσι  
 20 πέρθεται· ἢ τὸ μὲν οὐκί, ἀφ' Ἡρακλέος δὲ γενέθλης  
 πενήθσει βασιλῇ φθίμενον Λακεδαίμονος οὔρος.  
 Οὐ γὰρ τὸν ταύρων σχήσει μένος οὐδὲ λεόντων  
 ἀντιβίην. Ζηνὸς γὰρ ἔχει μένος· οὐδέ ἔ φημι  
 σχήσεσθαι, πρὶν τῶνδ' ἕτερον διὰ πάντα δάσσηται.

25 ταῦτά τε δὴ ἐπιλεγόμενον Λεωνίδην, καὶ βουλόμε-  
 νον κλέος καταθέσθαι μῦνον Σπαρτιητέων, ἀπο-

πέμψαι τοὺς συμμάχους, μᾶλλον ἢ γνώμη διενεχθέντας οὕτω ἀκόσμως οἴχεσθαι τοὺς οἰχομένους.

221 Μαρτύριον δέ μοι καὶ τόδε οὐκ ἐλάχιστον τούτου

The Seer  
Megistius  
supports  
him.

πéρι γέγονε. οὐ γάρ μούνον τοὺς ἄλλους, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸν μάντιν, ὃς εἶπετο τῇ στρατιῇ ταύτῃ, Μεγιστίην τὸν Ἀκαρνήνην, λεγόμενον

εἶναι τὰ ἀνέκαθεν ἀπὸ Μελάμποδος, τούτου 5 εἴπαντα ἐκ τῶν ἱρῶν τὰ μέλλοντά σφι ἐκβαίνειν, φανερός ἐστι Λεωνίδης ἀποπέμπων, ἵνα μὴ συνάποληταί σφι. ὁ δὲ ἀποπεμπόμενος αὐτὸς μὲν οὐκ ἀπέλιπε, τὸν δὲ παῖδα συστρατευόμενον, ἔοντα οἱ

222 μουννογενέα, ἀπέπεμψε. Οἱ μὲν νυν σύμμαχοι οἱ

Fidelity of  
the Thespians;  
detention of the  
Thebans.

ἀποπεμπόμενοι οἴχοντό τε ἀπιδόντες καὶ ἐπείθοντο Λεωνίδῃ, Θεςπιέες δὲ καὶ Θηβαῖοι κατέμειναν μούνοι παρὰ Λακεδαιμονίοισι. τούτων δὲ Θηβαῖοι μὲν 5

ἀέκοντες ἔμενον, καὶ οὐ βουλόμενοι· κατεῖχε γάρ σφεας Λεωνίδης, ἐν ὁμήρων λόγῳ ποιεύμενος· Θεςπιέες δὲ ἐκόντες μάλιστα, οἳ οὐκ ἔφασαν ἀπολιπόντες Λεωνίδην καὶ τοὺς μετ' αὐτοῦ ἀπαλλάξεσθαι, ἀλλὰ καταμείναντες συναπέθανον. ἐστρα- 10 τήγее δὲ αὐτῶν Δημόφιλος Διαδρόμεω.

223 Ξέρξης δὲ, ἐπεὶ ἡλίου ἀνατείλαντος σπονδὰς

Advance of  
Xerxes and  
of Leonidas.  
Battle in the  
plain.

ἐποιήσατο, ἐπισχὼν χρόνον ἐς ἀγορῆς 5 κου μάλιστα πληθώρην πρόσδοον ἐποιέετο· καὶ γὰρ ἐπέσταλτο ἐξ Ἐπιάλτεω οὕτω. ἀπὸ γὰρ τοῦ οὔρεος ἡ κατά-

βασίς συντομωτέρη τέ ἐστι, καὶ βραχύτερος ὁ χῶρος πολλόν, ἥπερ ἡ περίοδος τε καὶ ἀνάβασις. Οἳ τε δὴ βάρβαροι οἱ ἀμφὶ Ξέρξεα προσήϊσαν,

καὶ οἱ ἀμφὶ Λεωνίδην Ἕλληνες, ὡς τὴν ἐπὶ θανάτῳ  
 10 ἔξοδον ποιεύμενοι, ἤδη πολλῷ μᾶλλον ἢ κατ'  
 ἀρχὰς ἐπεξήϊσαν ἐς τὸ εὐρύτερον τοῦ αὐχένος. τὸ  
 μὲν γὰρ ἔρυμα τοῦ τείχεος ἐφυλάσσετο, οἱ δὲ ἀνὰ  
 τὰς προτέρας ἡμέρας ὑπεξιόντες ἐς τὰ στεινόπορα  
 ἐμάχοντο, τότε δὲ συμμίσγοντες ἔξω τῶν στεινῶν  
 15 ἐπιπτον πλήθει πολλοὶ τῶν βαρβάρων. ὅπισθε  
 γὰρ οἱ ἡγεμόνες τῶν τελέων, ἔχοντες μᾶστιγας,  
 ἐρράπιζον πάντα ἄνδρα, αἰεὶ ἐς τὸ πρόσω ἐποτρύν-  
 οντες. πολλοὶ μὲν δὲ ἐσέπιπτον αὐτῶν ἐς τὴν  
 θάλασσαν καὶ διεφθείροντο, πολλῷ δ' ἔτι πλεῦνες  
 20 κατεπατέοντο ζωοὶ ὑπ' ἀλλήλων· ἦν δὲ λόγος  
 οὐδεὶς τοῦ ἀπολλυμένου. ἅτε γὰρ ἐπιστάμενοι  
 τὸν μέλλοντά σφι ἔσεσθαι θάνατον ἐκ τῶν περιϊόν-  
 των τὸ οὖρος, ἀπεδείκνυντο ῥώμης ὅσον εἶχον  
 μέγιστον ἐς τοὺς βαρβάρους, παραχρεώμενοί τε  
 καὶ ἀτέοντες. Δόρατα μὲν νυν τοῖσι πλέοσι αὐτῶν 224  
 τηνικαῦτα ἤδη ἐτύγχανε κατεηγότα, οἱ  
 δὲ τοῖσι ξίφεσι διεργάζοντο τοὺς Πέρσας.  
 καὶ Λεωνίδης τε ἐν τούτῳ τῷ πόνῳ  
 5 πίπτει, ἀνὴρ γενόμενος ἄριστος, καὶ ἕτεροι μετ'  
 αὐτοῦ οὐνομαστοὶ Σπαρτιητέων, τῶν ἐγὼ ὡς ἀν-  
 δρῶν ἀξίων γενομένων ἐπυθόμην τὰ οὐνόματα·  
 ἐπυθόμην δὲ καὶ ἀπάντων τῶν τριηκοσίων. καὶ  
 δὴ καὶ Περσέων πίπτουσι ἐνθαῦτα ἄλλοι τε πολλοὶ  
 10 καὶ οὐνομαστοὶ, ἐν δὲ δὴ καὶ Δαρείου δύο παῖδες,  
 Ἀβροκόμης τε καὶ Ὑπεράνθης, ἐκ τῆς Ἀρτάνεω  
 θυγατρὸς Φραταγούνης γεγονότες Δαρείῳ. ὁ δὲ  
 Ἀρτάνης Δαρείου μὲν τοῦ βασιλέος ἦν ἀδελφεός,  
 Ὑστάσπεος δὲ τοῦ Ἀρσάμεω παῖς, ὃς καὶ ἐκδιδούς

Fall of Leo-  
 nidas, and  
 of Persian  
 princes.



- τὴν θυγατέρα Δαρείῳ, τὸν οἶκον πάντα τὸν ἑωυτοῦ 15  
 ἐπέδωκε, ὡς μύνου οἱ εἰσῆς ταύτης τέκνου.
- 225 Ξέρξῳ τε δὴ δύο ἀδελφεοὶ ἐνθαῦτα πίπτονσι  
 μαχόμενοι ὑπὲρ τοῦ νεκροῦ τοῦ Λεωνίδεω,  
 Περσέων τε καὶ Λακεδαιμονίων ὠθισμὸς  
 ἐγένετο πολλὸς, ἐς δὲ τοῦτόν τε ἀρετῇ οἱ  
 Ἕλληνες ὑπεξεΐρυσαν, καὶ ἐτρέψαντο τοὺς ἐναν- 5  
 τίους τετράκις. Τοῦτο δὲ συνεστήκεε, μέχρι οὗ οἱ  
 σὺν Ἐπιάλτῃ παρεγένοντο. ὡς δὲ τούτους ἤκειν  
 ἐπύθοντο οἱ Ἕλληνες, ἐνθεῦτεν ἤδη ἑτεροιοῦτο τὸ  
 νεῖκος. ἐς τε γὰρ τὸ στεινὸν τῆς ὁδοῦ ἀνεχώρεον  
 ὀπίσω, καὶ παράμειψάμενοι τὸ τεῖχος, ἐλθόντες 10  
 ἴζοντο ἐπὶ τὸν κολωνὸν πάντες ἀλέες οἱ ἄλλοι, πλὴν  
 Θηβαίων. ὁ δὲ κολωνός ἐστι ἐν τῇ ἐσόδῳ, ὅκου  
 νῦν ὁ λίθινος λέων ἔστηκε ἐπὶ Λεωνίδῃ. ἐν τούτῳ  
 σφέας τῷ χώρῳ ἀλεξομένους μαχαίρησι, τοῖσι  
 αὐτῶν ἐτύγχανον ἔτι περιεοῦσαι, καὶ χερσὶ καὶ 15  
 στόμασι, κατέχωσαν οἱ βάρβαροι βάλλοντες, οἱ  
 μὲν ἐξ ἐναντίας ἐπισπόμενοι καὶ τὸ ἔρυμα τοῦ  
 τεύχεος συγχώσαντες, οἱ δὲ περιελθόντες πάντο-  
 θεν περισταδόν.
- 226 Λακεδαιμονίων δὲ καὶ Θεσπιδέων τοιούτων γενο-  
 μένων, ὅμως λέγεται ἀνὴρ ἄριστος γενέ-  
 σθαι Σπαρτιήτης Διηνέκης, τὸν τότε φα-  
 σὶ εἶπαι τὸ ἔπος, πρὶν ἢ συμμῖξαι σφέας  
 τοῖσι Μήδοισι, πυθόμενον πρὸς τευ τῶν Τρηχι- 5  
 νίων, ὡς, ἐπεὰν οἱ βάρβαροι ἀπιέωσι τὰ τοξεύ-  
 ματα, τὸν ἥλιον ὑπὸ τοῦ πλήθεος τῶν οἰστῶν  
 ἀποκρύπτουσι· τοσοῦτό τι πλήθος αὐτῶν εἶναι.  
 τὸν δὲ, οὐκ ἐκπλαγέντα τούτοις, εἶπαι, ἐν ἀλογίῃ

The final  
struggle:  
destruction  
of the Greeks.

Courage of  
Dieneces and  
other heroes.

10 ποιούμενον τὸ τῶν Μήδων πλῆθος, ὥς πάντα σφι  
 ἀγαθὰ ὁ Τρηχίνιος ξεῖνος ἀγγέλλοι, εἰ, ἀποκρυπ-  
 τόντων τῶν Μήδων τὸν ἥλιον, ὑπὸ σκιῇ ἔσοιτο  
 πρὸς αὐτοὺς ἡ μάχη, καὶ οὐκ ἐν ἡλίῳ. Ταῦτα μὲν  
 καὶ ἄλλα τοιουτότροπα ἔπεά φασι Διηνέκεα τὸν  
 Λακεδαιμόνιον λιπέσθαι μνημόσυνα. Μετὰ δὲ 227  
 τοῦτον ἀριστεύσαι λέγονται Λακεδαιμόνιοι δύο  
 ἀδελφοὶ, Ἀλφεός τε καὶ Μάρων, Ὀρσιφάντου  
 παῖδες. Θεσπιέων δὲ εὐδοκίμее μάλιστα, τῷ  
 οὐνομα ἦν Διθύραμβος Ἀρματίδew. Θαφθεῖσι 228  
 δέ σφι αὐτοῦ ταύτῃ, τῇπερ ἔπεσον, καὶ  
 τοῖσι πρότερον τελευτήσασι ἢ ὑπὸ Λew-  
 νίδew ἀποπεμφθέντας οἷχεσθαι, ἐπιγέγραπται  
 5 γράμματα λέγοντα τάδε·

Memorials to  
the fallen.

Μυριάσιν ποτὲ τῇδε τριηκοσίαις ἐμάχοντο  
 ἐκ Πελοποννάσου χιλιάδες τέτορες.

ταῦτα μὲν δὴ τοῖσι πᾶσι ἐπιγέγραπται· τοῖσι δὲ  
 Σπαρτιήτησι ἰδίῃ·

10 ὦ ξεῖν', ἀγγέλλειν Λακεδαιμονίοις, ὅτι τῇδε  
 κείμεθα, τοῖς κείνων ῥήμασι πειθόμενοι.

Λακεδαιμονίοισι μὲν δὴ τοῦτο· τῷ δὲ μάντι τόδε·

Μνήμα τόδε κλεινοῖο Μεγιστία, ὃν ποτε Μῆδοι  
 Σπερχειὸν ποταμὸν κτεῖναν ἀμειψάμενοι·

15 μάντιος, ὃς τότε Κῆρας ἐπερχομένας σάφα εἰδὼς,  
 οὐκ ἔτλη Σπάρτης ἡγεμόνας προλιπεῖν.

Ἐπιγράμμασι μὲν νυν καὶ στήλῃσι, ἔξω ἢ τὸ τοῦ  
 μάντιος ἐπίγραμμα, Ἀμφικτύονές εἰσὶ σφεας οἱ  
 ἐπικοσμήσαντες· τὸ δὲ τοῦ μάντιος Μεγιστίew

Σιμωνίδης ὁ Λεωπρέπεός ἐστι κατὰ ξεινίην ὁ 20  
ἐπιγράψας.

229 Δύο δὲ τούτων τῶν τριηκοσίων λέγεται, Εὐρυ-  
τόν τε καὶ Ἀριστόδημον, παρεὸν αὐτοῖσι  
ἀμφοτέροισι, κοινῷ λόγῳ χρησαμένοισι,  
ἢ ἀποσωθῆναι ὁμοῦ ἐς Σπάρτην, ὥς μεμε-  
τιμένοι τε ἦσαν ἐκ τοῦ στρατοπέδου ὑπὸ Λεωνί- 5  
δεω καὶ κατεκέατο ἐν Ἀλπηνοῖσι ὀφθαλμιῶντες  
ἐς τὸ ἔσχατον, ἢ, εἴ γε μὴ ἐβούλοντο νοστήσαι,  
ἀποθανεῖν ἅμα τοῖσι ἄλλοις, παρεὸν σφί τούτων  
τὰ ἕτερα ποιεῖν, οὐκ ἐβελῆσαι ὁμοφρονεῖν, ἀλλὰ  
γνώμῃ διενειχθέντας, Εὐρυτον μὲν πυθόμενον τῶν 10  
Περσέων τὴν περίοδον, αἰτήσαντά τε τὰ ὄπλα καὶ  
ἐνδύντα, ἄγειν αὐτὸν κελεύσαι τὸν εἴλωτα ἐς τοὺς  
μαχομένους· ὅκως δὲ αὐτὸν ἤγαγε, τὸν μὲν ἀγα-  
γόντα, οἷχεσθαι φεύγοντα, τὸν δὲ ἐσπεσόντα ἐς τὸν  
ὄμιλον διαφθαρῆναι, Ἀριστόδημον δὲ λειποψυχέ- 15  
οντα λειφθῆναι. Εἰ μὲν νυν ἦν μῦθον Ἀριστό-  
δημον ἀλγήσαντα ἀπονοστήσαι ἐς Σπάρτην, ἢ καὶ  
ὁμοῦ σφέων ἀμφοτέρων τὴν κομιδὴν γενέσθαι,  
δοκέειν ἐμοὶ, οὐκ ἂν σφί Σπαρτιήτας μῆνιν οὐδε-  
μίαν προσθέσθαι· νυνὶ δὲ, τοῦ μὲν αὐτῶν ἀπολο- 20  
μένου, τοῦ δὲ τῆς μὲν αὐτῆς ἐχομένου προφάσιος,  
οὐκ ἐβελήσαντος δὲ ἀποθνήσκειν, ἀναγκαίως σφί

230 ἔχειν μηνῖσαι μεγάλως Ἀριστοδήμῳ. Οἱ μὲν νυν  
οὕτω σωθῆναι λέγουσι Ἀριστόδημον ἐς  
Σπάρτην, καὶ διὰ πρόφασιν τοιήνδε· οἱ  
δὲ ἄγγελον πεμφθέντα ἐκ τοῦ στρατοπέδου, ἐξεὼν  
αὐτῷ καταλαβεῖν τὴν μάχην γινομένην, οὐκ 5  
ἐβελῆσαι, ἀλλ' ὑπομείναντα ἐν τῇ ὁδῷ περιγε-

Story of  
Aristodemus  
and Eurytus.

Another  
account.

νέσθαι, τὸν δὲ συνάγγελον αὐτοῦ, ἀπικόμενον ἐς  
 τὴν μάχην, ἀποθανεῖν. Ἀπονοστήσας δὲ ἐς Λακε- 231  
 δαίμονα ὁ Ἀριστόδημος ὄνειδός τε εἶχε  
 καὶ ἀτιμίην. πάσχων δὲ τοιάδε ἡτίμωτο·  
 οὔτε οἱ πῦρ οὔδεις ἔναυε Σπαρτιητέων  
 5 οὔτε διελέγετο, ὄνειδός τε εἶχε ὁ τρέσας Ἀριστό-  
 δημος καλεόμενος. ἀλλ' ὁ μὲν ἐν τῇ ἐν Πλαταιῇσι  
 μάχῃ ἀνέλαβε πᾶσαν τὴν ἐπενεχθεῖσάν οἱ αἰτίην.  
 Λέγεται δὲ καὶ ἄλλον ἀποπεμφθέντα ἄγ- 232  
 γελον ἐς Θεσσαλίην τῶν τριηκοσίων τού-  
 των περιγενέσθαι, τῷ οὐνομα εἶναι Παντί-  
 ττην· νοστήσαντα δὲ τοῦτον ἐς Σπάρτην, ὡς ἡτίμωτο,  
 ἀπάγξασθαι. Οἱ δὲ Θηβαῖοι, τῶν ὁ Λεοντιάδης 233  
 ἐστρατήγεε, τέως μὲν μετὰ τῶν Ἑλλή-  
 νων εὐόντες ἐμάχοντο, ὑπ' ἀναγκαίης ἐχό-  
 μενοι, πρὸς τὴν βασιλέος στρατιήν· ὡς  
 5 δὲ εἶδον κατυπέρτερα τῶν Περσέων γινόμενα  
 τὰ πρήγματα, οὔτω δὴ τῶν σὺν Λεωνίδῃ Ἑλ-  
 λήνων ἐπειγομένων ἐπὶ τὸν κολωνόν, ἀποσχισθέντες  
 τούτων χεῖράς τε προέτεινον καὶ ἥϊσαν ἄσσον τῶν  
 βαρβάρων, λέγοντες τὸν ἀληθέστατον τῶν λόγων,  
 10 ὡς καὶ μηδίζουσι, καὶ γῆν τε καὶ ὕδωρ ἐν πρώτοισι  
 ἔδοσαν βασιλείῃ, ὑπὸ δὲ ἀναγκαίης ἐχόμενοι ἐς  
 Θερμοπύλας ἀπικοίατο, καὶ ἀναίτιοι εἶεν τοῦ τρώ-  
 ματος τοῦ γεγονότος βασιλείῃ· ὥστε ταῦτα λέ-  
 γοντες περιεγίνοντο· εἶχον γὰρ καὶ Θεσσαλοὺς  
 15 τῶν λόγων τούτων μάρτυρας. Οὐ μέντοι τά γε  
 πάντα εὐτύχησαν· ὡς γὰρ αὐτοὺς ἔλαβον οἱ  
 βάρβαροι ἐλθόντας, τοὺς μὲν τινὰς καὶ ἀπέκτειναν  
 προσιόντας, τοὺς δὲ πλεῖνας αὐτῶν, κελεύσαντος

Disgrace of  
Aristodemus.

A second  
survivor: his  
end.

Surrender of  
the Thebans;  
their fate.



Ξέρξω, ἔστιζον στίγματα βασιλήϊα, ἀρξάμενοι  
ἀπὸ τοῦ στρατηγοῦ Λεοντιάδεω, τοῦ τὸν παῖδα 20  
Εὐρύμαχον χρόνῳ μετέπειτα ἐφόνευσαν Πλα-  
ταιέες, στρατηγήσαντα ἀνδρῶν Θηβαίων τετρα-  
κοσίων, καὶ σχόντα τὸ ἄστυ τὸ Πλαταιέων.

- 234 Οἱ μὲν δὴ περὶ Θερμοπύλας Ἕλληνες οὕτω  
ἠγωνίσαντο. Ξέρξης δὲ καλέσας Δημά-  
ρητον εἰρώτα ἀρξάμενος ἐνθένδε· Δημά-  
ρητε, ἀνὴρ εἰς ἀγαθός. τεκμαίρομαι δὲ  
τῇ ἀληθείᾳ· ὅσα γὰρ εἶπας, ἅπαντα 5  
ἀπέβη οὕτω. νῦν δέ μοι εἶπέ, κόσσοι τινές εἰσι οἱ  
λοιποὶ Λακεδαιμόνιοι, καὶ τούτων ὀκόσοι τοιοῦτοι  
τὰ πολέμια, εἴτε καὶ ἅπαντες. Ὁ δ' εἶπε· ὦ  
βασιλεῦ, πλήθος μὲν πάντων τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων  
πολλόν, καὶ πόλιες πολλαί· τὸ δὲ θέλεις ἐκμαθεῖν, 10  
εἰδήσεις. Ἔστι ἐν τῇ Λακεδαίμονι Σπάρτη, πόλις  
ἀνδρῶν ὀκτακισχιλίων μάλιστά κη· οὗτοι πάντες  
εἰσὶ ὁμοῖοι τοῖσι ἐνθάδε μαχεσαμένοισι· οἳ γε  
μὲν ἄλλοι Λακεδαιμόνιοι τούτοις μὲν οὐκ ὁμοῖοι,  
ἀγαθοὶ δέ. Εἶπε πρὸς ταῦτα Ξέρξης· Δημάρητε, 15  
τέω τρόπῳ ἀπονητότατα τῶν ἀνδρῶν τούτων ἐπι-  
κρατήσομεν; ἴθι ἐξηγέο. σὺ γὰρ ἔχεις αὐτῶν τὰς  
διεξόδους τῶν βουλευμάτων, οἷα βασιλεὺς γενό-  
235 μενος. Ὁ δὲ ἀμείβετο· ὦ βασιλεῦ, εἰ μὲν δὴ  
συμβουλευεαί μοι προθύμως, δίκαιόν μέ  
σοί ἐστι φράζειν τὸ ἄριστον. εἰ τῆς  
ναυτικῆς στρατιῆς νέας τριηκοσίας ἀποστείλειας  
ἐπὶ τὴν Λάκαιναν χώραν· ἔστι δὲ ἐπ' αὐτῇ νῆσος 5  
ἐπικειμένη, τῇ οὐνομά ἐστι Κύθηρα, τὴν Χίλων,  
ἀνὴρ παρ' ἡμῖν σοφώτατος γενόμενος, κέρδος μέζον

Demaratus  
vindicated:  
he gives  
further infor-  
mation.

His advice  
to Xerxes.

ἔφη εἶναι Σπαρτιήτησι κατὰ τῆς θαλάσσης κατα-  
 δεδυκέναι μᾶλλον ἢ ὑπερέχειν, αἰεὶ τι πρόσδοκῶν  
 10 ἀπ' αὐτῆς τοιοῦτο ἔσεσθαι, οἷόν τι ἐγὼ ἐξηγέομαι,  
 οὐ τι τὸν σὸν στόλον προειδῶς, ἀλλὰ πάντα ὁμοίως  
 φοβεόμενος ἀνδρῶν στόλον· ἐκ ταύτης ὦν τῆς  
 νήσου ὀρμεόμενοι φοβεόντων τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους.  
 παροίκου δὲ πολέμου σφι ἔοντος οἰκητοῦ, οὐδὲν  
 15 δεινοὶ ἔσονται τοι, μὴ τῆς ἄλλης Ἑλλάδος ἀλι-  
 σκομένης ὑπὸ τοῦ πεζοῦ βοηθέωσι ταύτη. κατα-  
 δουλωθείσης δὲ τῆς ἄλλης Ἑλλάδος, ἀσθενὲς ἤδη  
 τὸ Λακωνικὸν μῦνον λείπεται. Ἦν δὲ ταῦτα μὴ  
 ποιῆς, τάδε τοι πρόσδόκα ἔσεσθαι. ἔστι τῆς  
 20 Πελοποννήσου ἰσθμὸς στενός· ἐν τούτῳ τῷ  
 χώρῳ πάντων Πελοποννησίων συνομοσάντων ἐπὶ  
 σοὶ μάχας ἰσχυροτέρας ἄλλας τῶν γενομένων  
 προσδέκεο ἔσεσθαί τοι. ἐκείνο δὲ ποιήσαντι ἀμα-  
 χητὶ ὃ τε ἰσθμὸς οὗτος καὶ αἱ πόλεις προσχωρή-  
 σουσι. Λέγει μετὰ τούτον Ἀχαιμένης, ἀδελφεός 236  
 τε ἐὼν Ξέρξεω καὶ τοῦ ναυτικοῦ στρατοῦ  
 στρατηγός, παρατυχῶν τε τῷ λόγῳ καὶ  
 δείσας, μὴ ἀναγνωσθῇ Ξέρξης ποιέειν ταῦτα· Ὡ  
 5 βασιλεῦ, ὀρέω σε ἀνδρὸς ἐνδεκόμενον λόγους, ὃς  
 φθονέει τοι εὖ πρήσσοντι, ἣ καὶ προδιδοῖ πρήγ-  
 ματα τὰ σά. καὶ γὰρ δὴ καὶ τρόποισι τοιούτοισι  
 χρεώμενοι οἱ Ἕλληνες χαίρουσι· τοῦ τε εὐτυχέειν  
 φθονέουσι καὶ τὸ κρέσσον στυγέουσι. Εἰ δ' ἐπὶ  
 10 τῇσι παρεούσῃσι τύχησι, τῶν νέες νεναυηγῆκασι  
 τετρακόσiai, ἄλλας ἐκ τοῦ στρατοπέδου τριηκο-  
 σίας ἀποπέμψεις περιπλώειν Πελοπόννησον, ἀξιό-  
 μαχοί τοι γίνονται οἱ ἀντίπαλοι. ἀλῆς δὲ ἐὼν ὁ

Opposition of  
Achaemenes.

ναυτικὸς στρατὸς δυσμεταχειρίστος τε αὐτοῖσι  
 γίνεται, καὶ ἀρχὴν οὐκ ἀξιόμαχοί τοι ἔσονται· καὶ 15  
 πᾶς ὁ ναυτικὸς τῷ πεζῷ ἀρήξει, καὶ ὁ πεζὸς τῷ  
 ναυτικῷ, ὁμοῦ πορευόμενος. εἰ δὲ διασπάσεις,  
 οὔτε σὺ ἔσσαι ἐκείνοισι χρήσιμος, οὔτε ἐκείνοι σοί.  
 Τὰ σεωυτοῦ δὲ τιθέμενος εὖ γνώμην ἔχε τὰ τῶν  
 ἀντιπολέμων μὴ ἐπιλέγεσθαι πρήγματα, τῇ τε 20  
 στήσονται τὸν πόλεμον, τὰ τε ποιήσουσι, ὅσοι τε  
 πλήθος εἰσι. ἱκανοὶ γὰρ ἐκείνοί γε αὐτοὶ ἐωυτῶν  
 πέρι φροντίζειν εἰσὶ, ἡμεῖς δὲ ἡμέων ὡσαύτως.  
 Λακεδαιμόνιοι δὲ, ἣν ἴωσι ἀντία Πέρσῃσι ἐς μάχην,  
 237 οὐδὲ ἐν τῷ παρεὸν τρώμα ἀνιεύνται. Ἀμείβεται  
 Ξέρξης τοῖσδε· Ἀχαίμενες, εὖ τέ μοι  
 δοκέεις λέγειν, καὶ ποιήσω ταῦτα. Δη-  
 μάρητος δὲ λέγει μὲν τὰ ἄριστα ἔλπεται  
 εἶναι ἐμοί, γνώμῃ μέντοι ἐσσοῦται ὑπὸ 5  
 σεῦ. οὐ γὰρ δὴ ἐκείνὸ γε ἐνδέξομαι, ὅπως οὐκ  
 εὐνοέει τοῖσι ἐμοῖσι πρήγμασι, τοῖσί τε λεγομέ-  
 νοισι πρότερον ἐκ τούτου σταθμώμενος καὶ τῷ  
 ἔοντι, ὅτι πολιήτης μὲν πολιήτῃ εὖ πρήσσοντι  
 φθονέει καὶ ἔστι δυσμενὴς τῇ σιγῇ· οὐδ' ἂν, συμ- 10  
 βουλευομένου τοῦ ἀστοῦ, πολιήτης ἀνὴρ τὰ ἄριστα  
 οἱ δοκέοντα εἶναι ὑποθέοιτο, εἰ μὴ πρόσω ἀρετῆς  
 ἀνήκοι· σπάνιοι δ' εἰσὶ οἱ τοιοῦτοι. ξείνος δὲ  
 ξείνῳ εὖ πρήσσοντί ἐστι εὐμενέστατον πάντων,  
 συμβουλευομένου τε ἂν συμβουλεύσειε τὰ ἄριστα. 15  
 οὕτω ὦν κακολογίης πέρι τῆς ἐς Δημάρητον,  
 ἔοντος ἐμοὶ ξείνου, ἔχεσθαί τινα τοῦ λοιποῦ κε-  
 238 λεύω. Ταῦτα εἰπας Ξέρξης διεξῆϊε διὰ τῶν  
 νεκρῶν· καὶ Λεωνίδεω, ἀκηκοὺς ὅτι βασιλεὺς τε

Xerxes re-  
 jects the  
 counsel of  
 Demaratus,  
 but defends  
 his character.

ἦν καὶ στρατηγὸς Λακεδαιμονίων, ἐκέλευσε ἀπο-  
ταμόντας τὴν κεφαλὴν ἀνασταυρῶσαι.

5 δὴλὰ μοι πολλοῖσι μὲν καὶ ἄλλοισι τεκ-  
μηρίοισι, ἐν δὲ δὴ καὶ τῷδε οὐκ ἤκιστα  
γέγονε, ὅτι βασιλεὺς Ξέρξης πάντων δὴ μάλιστα  
ἀνδρῶν ἐθυμώθη ζῶντι Λεωνίδῃ. οὐ γὰρ ἂν κοτε  
ἐς τὸν νεκρὸν ταῦτα παρενόμησέ, ἐπεὶ τιμᾶν μά-  
10 λιστα νομίζουσι τῶν ἐγὼ οἶδα ἀνθρώπων Πέρσαι  
ἀνδρας ἀγαθοὺς τὰ πολέμια. οἱ μὲν δὴ ταῦτα  
ἐποίουν, τοῖσι ἐπετέτακτο ποιεῖν.

Insults to  
the body of  
Leonidas.

Ἄναιμι δὲ ἐκείσε τοῦ λόγου, τῇ μοι τὸ πρότερον 239  
ἐξέλιπε. Ἐπύθοντο Λακεδαιμόνιοι ὅτι  
βασιλεὺς στέλλοιτο ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα,  
πρῶτοι, καὶ οὕτω δὴ ἐς τὸ χρηστήριον  
5 τὸ ἐς Δελφοὺς ἀπέπεμψαν, ἔνθα δὴ σφί  
ἐχρήσθη, τὰ ὀλίγω πρότερον εἶπον. ἐπύθοντο δὲ  
τρόπῳ θουμασίῳ. Δημάρητος γὰρ ὁ Ἀρίστωνος,  
φυγὼν ἐς Μήδους, ὡς μὲν ἐγὼ δοκέω, καὶ τὸ οἶκός  
ἐμοὶ συμμάχεται, οὐκ ἦν εὖνοος Λακεδαιμονίοισι.  
10 πάρεστι δὲ εἰκάζειν, εἴτε εὐνοίῃ ταῦτα ἐποίησε,  
εἴτε καὶ καταχαίρων. Ἐπεὶ τε γὰρ Ξέρξῃ ἔδοξε  
στρατηλατέειν ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα, ἐὼν ἐν Σούσοισι  
ὁ Δημάρητος καὶ πυθόμενος ταῦτα ἠθέλησε Λακε-  
δαιμονίοισι ἐξαγγεῖλαι. ἄλλως μὲν δὴ οὐκ εἶχε  
15 σημῆναι· ἐπικίνδυνον γὰρ ἦν, μὴ λαμφθεῖν· ὁ  
δὲ μηχανᾶται τοιάδε. δελτίον δίπτυχον λαβὼν,  
τὸν κηρὸν αὐτοῦ ἐξέκνησε, καὶ ἔπειτα ἐν τῷ ξύλῳ  
τοῦ δελτίου ἔγραψε τὴν βασιλέος γνώμην· ποιή-  
σας δὲ ταῦτα ὀπίσω ἐπέτηξε τὸν κηρὸν ἐπὶ τὰ  
20 γράμματα, ἵνα φερόμενον κεινὸν τὸ δελτίον μηδὲν

Previous  
warning from  
Demaratus  
to Sparta.  
Ingenuity of  
Gorgo.



πρῆγμα παρέχοι πρὸς τῶν ὁδοφυλάκων. ἐπεὶ δὲ  
καὶ ἀπίκητο εἰς τὴν Λακεδαίμονα, οὐκ εἶχον συμ-  
βαλέσθαι οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι, πρὶν γε δὴ σφι, ὥς  
ἐγὼ πυνθάνομαι, Κλεομένεος μὲν θυγάτηρ, Λεωνί-  
δεω δὲ γυνὴ Γοργῶ ὑπέθετο ἐπιφρασθεῖσα αὐτὴ, 25  
τὸν κηρὸν κνᾶν κελεύουσα, καὶ εὐρήσειν σφέας  
γράμματα ἐν τῷ ξύλῳ. πειθόμενοι δὲ εὗρον καὶ  
ἐπελέξαντο, ἔπειτα δὲ τοῖσι ἄλλοισι Ἑλλησι  
ἐπέστειλαν. Ταῦτα μὲν δὴ οὕτω λέγεται γενέσθαι.

## NOTES.

### ABBREVIATIONS.

B	stands for	Blakesley
R	"	Rawlinson
Gdw.	"	Goodwin (Moods and Tenses).

The numbers in brackets refer to the lines in the Chapters.

The main story of Herodotus is resumed from vi. 119, the return of Datis and Artaphernes to Asia, after their defeat at Marathon. See Introduction.

4. **κεχαραγμένον**. Properly, 'roughened', 'seared', e.g. like a club with projecting knobs, *κεχαραγμένον ὄξοις*, Theocr. xvii. 31, or a plain which *κέκοπται καὶ χαράσσεται*, Aesch. Pers. 683, or the giant under Etna, whose *ἅπαν νῶτον στρωμνὰ χαράσσοισα κεντεῖ*, Pind. P. i. 55. Here, in an emotional sense, 'exasperated', cf. Eur. Med. 156, *κείνῳ τόδῃ μὴ χαράσσου*. In later Greek, to engrave, sketch, stamp (of money), whence our *character*.

5. **τὴν**, 'their'.

**ἐς Σάρδεις ἐσβολήν**. Described in v. 97—102. The Ionians, Greek colonists of the western coast lands of Asia Minor, in fear of a Persian attack, had in 499 B.C. asked the aid of Sparta and of Athens. Sparta refused, v. 51, but Athens sent 20 ships, and, in the weighty words of the historian, *αὐται αἱ νέες ἀρχὴ κακῶν ἐγένοντο* "Ἑλλησί τε καὶ βαρβάρουσι.

6. **πολλῶ τε...ἐποίηε**, 'expressed far greater indignation'. *δεινὰ ποιεῖν*, to *express*, must be distinguished from *δεινὰ ποιέσθαι*, to *feel* indignation. For the former, which is by far the less frequent expression, cf. ii. 121, *τὸν δὲ βασιλέα, ὡς αὐτῷ ἀπηγγέλην, δεινὰ ποιεῖν*. These two passages alone would not prove the meaning to be *expression* or *outward manifestation*, which is, however, clearly seen in iii. 14, *τῶν ἄλλων κλαιόντων καὶ δεινὰ ποιούντων, τὸν δὲ ἐποίησε* (sc. *καὶ πρότερον*), the words being explained by a previous sentence: *οἱ μὲν ἄλλοι ἀνεβόων τε καὶ ἀντέκλαιον, ὁ δὲ ἔκυψε ἐς τὴν γῆν*. Similarly, in

v. 41, where *ὀχλέω* seems to be used with almost the same meaning, *οἱ οἰκῆιοι πυθόμενοι ὥχλεον*· *δεινὰ δὲ ποιούντων αὐτῶν, οἱ ἔφοροι ἐφύλαξαν*. Here it is clear that the 'relations' made their indignation manifest and effective. Cf. also Thucyd. v. 42, of demonstrations raised at unwelcome news in a speech.

The middle constr. is very common, being constantly used of the feeling, which prompts some action: e.g. i. 127, *Πέρσαι... ἄσμενοι ἐλευθεροῦντο, καὶ πάλαι δεινὸν ποιούμενοι ὑπὸ Μήδων ἄρχεσθαι*. Here it is evident that the feeling previously existed, without manifestation. Also ii. 161, *ταῦτα δὲ δεινὰ ποιούμενοι ἀπέστησαν*. iv. 33, *ἐπεὶ δὲ τοὺς ἀποπεμφθέντας οὐκ ἀπονοστήειν, δεινὰ ποιουμένους οὕτω δὴ ἐπισκῆπτειν*. For other instances, cf. i. 13, ii. 133, iii. 155, v. 33, vii. 35, viii. 15, 93.

With this latter expression cf. the common phrase, *ἐν οὐδένι, ἐν ὀλιγωρίᾳ, ἐν ὁμοίῳ* (ch. 138), *περὶ πολλοῦ, ποιεῖσθαι* etc.

*ῥομήτο*, 'was eager'; cf. ch. 22 n.

8. *ἐπηγγέλλετο*. 'He began issuing orders.' *ἐπαγγέλλεσθαι* means broadly to tender proposals or overtures of any sort, esp. by proclamation, as here; cf. viii. 30, where the proposal includes both an offer and a demand. Hence specially (a) to *proffer*, e.g. *χρήματα* ch. 27; to *profess*, as in Pl. Gor. 447 c, *τί ἐστὶν ὃ ἐπαγγέλλεται τε καὶ διδάσκει*; and so of spontaneous action, ch. 150. (b) To propose on one's own behalf (chiefly in Hdt.), *issue orders*, as here. Cf. iv. 200, *ἐπαγγελλόμενοι ἐκδιδόναι τοὺς αἰτίους*.

*πόλις*. Ionic acc. pl. See App. H. v.

9. *ἐτοιμάζειν*, after *ἐπηγγέλλετο*.

*ἐκάστοισι*, 'to the several races'. Notice the pl.

10. *νέας*. The Ionic acc. pl. App. H. v. *νέας* ships of war, *πλοῖα* transports.

12. *Ἀσίη*. In the wide sense, i.e. the continent as known to Hdt., bounded, roughly speaking, by the Indus on the E. and the Caspian on the N., iv. 40. Darius was the 'discoverer' of the greater part of Asia, iv. 44. His sailors sailed down the Indus, and returned by sea to the Gulf of Suez. The name Asia was still used by the Greeks to designate specially the country round Ephesus, even after it had acquired its larger sense.

**ἔδονέετο.** Properly applied to a *rocking* motion, hence *δονεῖν γάλα* of the Scythian butter-makers, iv. 2. Cf. *δόναξ*, a reed 'shaken by the wind' (L. and S.). A favourite word with Pindar, who uses it once only in a literal sense (*δονεῖν ἄκοντα*, P. i. 85), and much more frequently of the passions, or of the throbbing pulses of song, *λυρᾶν βοαὶ δονέονται* P. x. 60. Thucyd.'s *Ἑλλὰς πᾶσα μετέωρος ἦν*, ii. 8, is a little like the present passage in its application of a physical term to the feelings of a nation.

13. **ὥς**, marks the idea of purpose. Not 'as if'.

14. **τετάρτῳ ἔτει**, i.e. 486 B.C. Cyrus, the father of Cambyses, had meditated an attack on Egypt, i. 153, which had allied itself with Croesus, king of Lydia, i. 77. Revenge for this alliance, or possibly the conquering spirit developed by Cyrus' successes, had been the motive of Cambyses' invasion, though Hdt., iii. 1, gives a more personal one. Cyrus died in 525, Cambyses in 521, succeeded by Darius.

1. **στελλομένου.** Schweighäuser rightly points out that 2 *στέλλεσθαι ἐπὶ* is *ad proficiscendum sese comparare*, *σταλῆναι ἐπὶ, proficisci*. Cf. vii. 239, iii. 53, with iv. 159, v. 126.

5. **ἀποδέξαντα.** Ionic for ἀποδείξαντα. See App. B. Cf. ch. 154. The aorist has its full force of a past tense, 'he must first appoint and then', cf. 2 (8) *βασιλεύσαντι*, 'after his accession'. For the use of οὕτω in phrases of this kind, cf. ch. 119.

**τὸν Περσέων νόμον.** The king nominated his successor from among all his sons; the eldest did not necessarily succeed. Thus when Darius II. died, in 405, Cyrus, although a younger son, had strong hopes of the crown.

9. **Ἀτόσσης.** Atossa, the sister and consort of Cambyses, and afterwards wife of the Median usurper Smerdis, was married by Darius on his accession, iii. 88.

11. **ἐπιγενομένων.** Cf. *τὰ ἐπὶ τούτοις, ἐπίνοια, ἀνάγκη ὥσπερ τέχνης τὰ ἐπιγιγνόμενα* (latest improvements) *κρατεῖν*, Thucyd. i. 71.

13. **γόνου.** More usually of a single child.

14. **νομιζόμενα.** Neuter pl. in place of more usual neut. sing. The idiom occurs with οὐκ οἶά τε (ch. 16), *δῆλα* (ch. 238), *ἀδύνατα*, i. 91, etc. *νομίζειν* to regard as a νόμος,



to practise; foll. by (1) an infin., i. 131, νομίζουσι Διὶ θυσίας ἔρδειν. (2) An acc., ii. 64, τῷ Ἀρεΐ ταύτην τὴν πλεγγὴν νενομικέναι. (3) rarely with dat., iv. 117, φωνῇ νομίζουσι Σκυθικῇ. Cf. Thucyd. ii. 38, ἀγῶσι κ. θυσίαις διετησίοις νομίζοντες.

17. ὁ κτησάμενος τὴν ἐλευθερίην. By revolting from and conquering the Medes. Hdt. tells the story at length in i. 123 seq.

3 3. τοῦτοιςι. Cf. ii. 20, ὁμοίως πάσχειν κ. κατὰ τὰ αὐτὰ τῷ Νεέλῳ. iv. 119, τῷτὸ ἀν ὑμῖν ἐπρήσσομεν.

Δημάρητος. He had been deprived of the kingship on the ground of illegitimacy, vi. 61—66. After this he had filled the office of a simple magistrate at Sparta, but had fled to Persia in consequence of the insults of his successor.

5. ἐπιβαλόν. Used regularly of a fine or punishment, cf. ἐπιβολή, penalty.

7. ἡ φάτις μιν ἔχει. Cf. viii. 94, τοὺτους τοιαύτη φάτις ἔχει, and conversely, ix. 84, ἔχει δέ τινα φάτιν καὶ Διονυσόφάνης.

14. οἱ μὲν. Not closely with προγεγονότες, which is predicative, but in contrast to ὁ δέ. 'If some have been born before, whereas another—'

16. ὀψίγονος. Not late born, born in old age (with reference to the father), but simply later born, younger, in opposition to προγεγονότες, Aesch. Supp. 361, (the Danaides speaking to the king) σὺ δὲ παρ' ὀψιγόνου μάθε γεραϊόφρων.

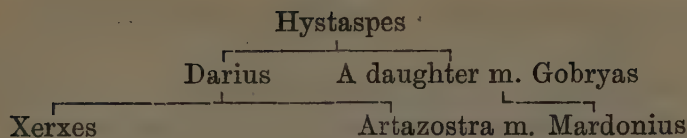
21. τὸ πᾶν κράτος. So Parysatis had schemed, but vainly, for the appointment of her son Cyrus to the kingdom, Xen. An. i. 1.

4 3. παρασκευαζόμενον. A strong present; 'in the midst of his preparations'.

5. τὰ πάντα, 'in all'. Distinguish from the use in iii. 74, ὑπισχνεύμενοι τὰ πάντα οἱ μυρία δώσειν (10,000 of every kind); though with this meaning the article is generally omitted before πάντα. Cf. i. 50, iv. 88, ix. 81.

9. ἀνεχώρησε, cf. ch. 205, also i. 109.

5 5. Μαρδόνιος had been deprived of his command by Darius, after the unsuccessful expedition against Athens and Eretria, vi. 94. See Introduction.



7. **εἶχετο**. **ἔχομαι** with the gen. is 'to cling to', 'to take of', the gen. being partitive. It is almost always found in a metaphorical sense in Hdt., being used (1) with **ἔργου** or **λόγου** in an inceptive sense (to *set to work*, to *take up* an argument or line of defence, etc.), cf. II. 121, **παίδας...ἔργου ἔχουσθαι**. Ch. 6, **τῶν αὐτῶν λόγων ἐχόμενοι**. (2) in a geographical sense, 'to be close to', 'border on', cf. IV. 178, **Λωτοφάγων ἔχονται Μάχλυνες**. So of proximity in line of battle, IX. 31, **Περσέων ἐχομένους ἔταξε Μήδους**. (3) 'to appertain to', 'be of the nature of', cf. V. 49, **τοῖσι οὔτε χρυσοῦ ἐχομένον ἐστί οὐδὲν οὔτε ἀργύρου**.

9. **μὴ οὐ**. For **μὴ οὐ** after a preceding negative, which is the regular use after verbs or ideas which imply *preventing* and the like, cf. VIII. 98, **οὐ νύξ ἐέργει μὴ οὐ κατανύσαι**. Ib. 100, **οὐδεμὴ ἔκδυσις μὴ οὐ δόντας**. With the present passage cf. I. 187, **Δαρείω δεινὸν ἐδόκεε...μὴ οὐ λαβεῖν αὐτὰ** (where the neg. is implied in **δεινὸν**), see Gdw. § 95. 2.

13. **λόγος σε ἔχη**, cf. ch. 3. Pind. Ol. VII. 17, **ὄν φᾶμαι κατέχοντ' ἀγαθαί**, resembles this very closely.

**τις φυλάσσηται**. Cf. ch. 48 note.

15. **ὁ λόγος ἦν τιμωρός**. For this bold personification of **λόγος**, cf. ch. 239, **τὸ οἶκός ἐμοὶ συμμάχεται**. Also ch. 173, 183.

16. **παρενθήκη**. Cf. ch. 171; also I. 186, **τοιγὴνδε ἐξ αὐτῶν παρενθήκη ἐποιήσατο** (ἢ **Νίτωκρῖς**), of an addition made to the works at Babylon. For **ποιεέσκετο** cf. ch. 41 (2) n.

18. **ἀρετὴν**, refers of course to excellence of *soil*, more usually **γῆς ἀρετὴ**, but cf. IV. 198, **δοκέει δὲ οὐδ' ἀρετὴν εἶναι τις ἢ Λιβύῃ σπουδαίῃ**.

2. **νεωτέρων**, 'newer', i.e. revolutionary, violent. So **νεω-6** **τερίζειν**, **νεωτερισμός**, and cf. VIII. 21.

4. **ὑπαρχος**. The Greek equivalent for satrap, a word which Hdt. never uses, though he mentions the term **σατραπήνη** I. 192.

**κατεργάσατο**, 'won over'. Cf. IX. 108, **οὐκ ἐδύνατο κατεργασθῆναι** (ἢ **γυνή**).

5. *συνέλαβε*, 'helped'. Generally middle in this sense, but cf. vi. 125.

7. *τοῦτο μὲν*, 'in the first place', answered by *τοῦτο δὲ* below, for which *δὲ*, *δὲ αὖ*, *δὲ δὴ*, *μετὰ δὲ*, *ἔπειτα δὲ*, *ἀλλὰ*, *εἶτα*, *τοῦτ' ἄλλο*, *τοῦτ' αὖθις*, are sometimes found (L. & S.).

10. *Ἀλευάδαι*. The towns of Thessaly were under the government of separate and independent oligarchies, *δυναστείαι* (Thucyd. iv. 78). These oligarchies were hereditary and in the hands of powerful families, the most celebrated of which were the Aleuadae of Larissa, who at this time were endeavouring to extend their authority over the whole of Thessaly. Traces of an opposition party appear in the mission to the assembled Greeks on the Isthmus (ch. 172). The Aleuadae are always called kings of Thessaly, probably as descendants of the mythical king Aleuas (cf. ch. 130, Pind. P. x. 6). The head of the family at this time, Thorax, whom Pindar compliments, was present with Mardonius before the battle of Plataea (ix. 105), and was no doubt rewarded by a recognition of his title by the Persians. The Spartans in 470 conducted a retaliatory expedition against Thessaly, but Leotychides, the commander, was bribed to retreat, vi. 72.

11. *Πεισιστρατιδῶν*. The Pisistratidae governed Athens 560—510 B.C. On their expulsion, Hippias retired to Sigeum in the Troad (v. 65). The Spartans offered to restore him, and summoned him to meet a congress of the allies at Sparta. Owing to the strong opposition of the Corinthians the plan had fallen through (v. 91—93), and Hippias again retired to Asia, where he had been doing his best to set Persia against Athens, having taken a prominent part in the Marathonian expedition.

14. *προσωρέγοντό οἱ*, 'tempted him', i.e. held out to him (as a bait); for the middle cf. Solon iv. (14) 2, *τιμῆς οὗτ' ἀφελὼν οὗτ' ἐπορεξάμενος*. Also vii. 161, *ταῦτα προτείνετο*, 'he held out', i.e. 'proposed'.

16. *διαθέτην*. Various explained as (1) one who arranges, sets in order, (2) one who makes a trade of, on the analogy of *διατίθεσθαι τὸν φόρτον*, to dispose of cargo. The former seems

best; the man's occupation then gave the chance for his mal-practices.

These oracle-mongers must have been a great feature in Greek life. Thucyd. mentions their activity at the beginning of the Peloponnesian War (II. 8); Nicias was particularly addicted to them, and from VII. 50 it looks as if *οἱ μάντις* formed a regular part, if not of an Athenian expedition, at least of Nicias' retinue. Cf. the position of Calchas as *στρατόμαντις*, Aesch. Ag. 122. So too a *χρησμβολογος* is introduced in the *Birds*, and Lampon and Diopithes are there mentioned as authors of oracles.

**Μουσαίου.** Little is known of him. "All that can be said with certainty is that poems believed to be ancient were current under his name, as early as B.C. 520" (Rawlinson).

19. *ἐπ' αὐτοφώρῳ* need not mean 'caught in the act of', its usual sense, but merely states that Lasus proved the fact to demonstration. Something similar is Xen. Symp. III. 13, *ἐπ' αὐτοφώρῳ εἰλημμαι πλουσιώτατος ὢν*.

**Λάσου.** Lasus of Hermione, the reputed teacher of Pindar, had developed the dithyramb, or rude chant sung at the festivals of Dionysus in the Peloponnese and the Isthmus, into the chorus or choral ode, which perhaps was accompanied by a certain amount of narrative recitation, thus laying the foundation of the drama. This improved dithyramb he introduced to the court of the Pisistratidae at Athens, where Anacreon and Simonides were his rivals for favour, and it was no doubt during his stay there that he detected Onomacritus.

20. *ἐμποιέων*. L. and S. quote from Dion. Hal. iv. 62, *χρησμοὶ ἐμπεποιημένοι τοῖς Σιβυλλεῖσι*.

21. *αἱ ἐπὶ Λήμνου νῆσοι*. These islands were volcanic and of recent origin, as their name (*Νεαὶ νῆσοι*) shows. Some of them had disappeared in the time of Pausanias, 2nd cent. A.D. (VIII. 33). One of the peaks of Lemnos, Mosychlus, was an active volcano (Hesych. s.v.).

*ἀφανιζόλατο*, represents in indirect speech the 'prophetic present' of the oracle. The Prophet sees and lives in the future, during his prophetic trance. Cf. ch. 141, *τεῖχος... διδοὶ Ζεὺς*. Ch. 220, *μέγα ἄστυ πέρθεται*.



23. **χρεώμενος**. From *χρῆσθαι φίλῳ*, to treat as a friend; *χρῆσθαι* alone has the same meaning, most commonly in Xen., where *οἱ χρώμενοι* means friends.

24. **ὅκως ἀπίκουτο**. Optative of 'indefinite frequency', expressing repetition after a historic tense, as the subj. with a compound of *ἄν* (*ὅταν* etc.) does, after a primary: tr. 'whenever'.

26. **τῶν χρησμῶν**. Partitive gen. (some of).

**ἐνέοι**. Epic for *ἐνέλη*. App. viii.

27. **σφάλμα**. Acc. after *φέρον*.

**τῶν μὲν**, 'of those'. The 'article' is still used by Hdt. (1) as a demonstrative, (2) as a relative, in the old Homeric sense. Cf. II. i. 125, *ἀλλὰ τὰ μὲν πολλῶν ἐξεπράθομεν, τὰ δέδασται*, a passage which gives both usages. In Thucyd. and Pl. the relational sense has quite gone, and the demonstrative is confined to a few special usages, e.g. *ὁ μὲν...ὁ δέ, τὰ μὲν...τὰ δέ* (partly...partly), *τὰ καὶ τὰ* (such and such), *καὶ ὁς* (and he), with acc. *καὶ τὸν* in orat. obl. Cf. ch. 137, *ἐν τοῖσι*.

28. **ὁ δέ**. This use of *δέ*, accompanying a repeated nom. instead of the word to which it properly belongs, *τὰ εὐτυχέστατα*, is a common idiom in Hdt.; cf. ch. 10, 13, 163 etc.

31. **προσεφέρετο**, sc. *βασιλεῖ, sese offerebat*, lit. 'kept bringing himself forward', i.e. 'beset him'.

7 1. **ἀνεγνώσθη**. This verb is used in two senses in Hdt. (1) to *recognise*, II. 91, (2) to *persuade*, VII. 10, 144, 236, VIII. 57, 58, 100. This latter meaning is almost peculiar to Hdt., who never uses the word in the sense of 'to read', i.e. to recognise words, which is found first in Pind.: he uses *ἐπιλέγεσθαι* instead.

7. **Ἀχαιμένει**. Achaemenes was the name of the mythical founder of the Persian dynasty.

8. **ἐπιτροπέοντα**. This word and its cognates (*ἐπιτροπος, ἐπιτροπαῖος*) are used to denote a degree of authority less absolute than that of a satrap over his province. They are applied to nations not the subjects but the dependents of Persia, cf. VII. 62, VIII. 127, III. 27; often of an administrator taking over the regular government for a while, V. 30 (of Miletus), VII. 170 (of Rhégium).

9. ἐφόνευσε. This was in 460 B.C., when Inarus headed a revolt of Egypt against Persia. Hdt. saw the battle-field white with the bones of the combatants, III. 12. The Athenians became the allies of Inarus, and for a time 'were masters of Egypt', so that Artaxerxes sent to Greece to bring about a diversion by paying Sparta to invade Attica. Sparta however refused, and it was not till 455 that Persia reconquered Egypt and destroyed the Athenian force, as well as a second fleet sent to relieve the first. Inarus was taken by treachery and crucified, Thucyd. I. 104, 109, 110.

2. ἐς χείρας ἄξεσθαι. Cf. IV. 79, μέλλοντί οἱ ἐς χείρας ἄξεσθαι 8 τὴν τελετήν, and I. 126.

3. σύλλογον τῶν ἀρίστων. We are reminded of the Homeric councils of war, in which the king summons his chieftains for discussion, though the decision rests with himself alone.

7. κατηγήσομαι. This verb in Hdt. signifies (1) *to lead the way*, with dat. IV. 125, κατηγέοντο οἱ Σκύθαι τοῖσι Πέρσησι. (2) *To shew*, ch. 183, τὸ ἔρμα σφι κατηγήσατο Πάμμων. (3) *To be the first to do, to institute*, with acc. II. 56, ἡ γυνὴ χρηστήριον κατηγήσατο. Cf. II. 49.

νόμον τόνδε τιθεῖς. Lit. 'establishing this as a custom'. νόμον predic., hence the omission of the article.

8. τιθεῖς. θῆναι νόμον is used technically in two senses: (1) of the despot, who *ordains* a law for his subjects, (2) of the individual citizen, who *proposes* one to the people. θέσθαι ν. of the citizens, who *pass* laws for themselves, and so, I. 29, of Solon, creating laws for himself and his fellow citizens. We should in this case have expected the act., which is constantly used of Solon by Demos., who regards him as the absolute legislator, rather than as the citizen.

οὔτε—τε. Notice the use of οὔτε—τε where we should use *not...but*; cf. ch. 37, οὐτ' ἐπινεφέλων ἐόντων αἰθρῆς τε τὰ μάλιστα.

Similarly, we find καὶ for *or*, ch. 52, διαφθεῖραι κ. περιποιῆσαι, 'for destroying or saving', and ch. 35, ἦν τε σύ γε βούλη ἦν τε μή. Conversely ἀλλὰ for Eng. *and*, ch. 143, ἀλλὰ γὰρ ἐς τοὺς πολεμίους τῷ θεῷ εἰρῆσθαι, ἀλλ' οὐκ ἐς Ἀθηναίους.

10. ἐπεὶ τε, or ἐπεῖτε, is common in Hdt. for ἐπεὶ or ἐπειδή, and is found in Homer, II. XI. 87, XII. 393.

12. *καὶ αὐτοῖσι, κ.τ.λ.* Not only does the divine guidance direct the Persians towards fresh conquests, but their own numerous successes give further encouragement. Such seems the sense, though it is difficult to give much force to *αὐτοῖσι ἡμῖν*, the emphasis on which is probably due to the Greek love of contrast.

13. *συμφέρεται*, impers. Cf. v. 114, *ἐμαντεύθη σφι—ἄμεινον συνοίσεσθαι*. viii. 86, *ἔμελλε τοιοῦτό σφι συνοίσεσθαι*. Similarly *συμφέρειν*, i. 74, vi. 117.

16. *οὐκ ἂν τις*, i.e. *οὐκ ἂν ἐγώ*. It seems unnecessary, with Ed. Tournier (*Révue de Philologie U.S.* 1, 270), to strike out *οὐκ*. He compares II. xx. 250, *εἰδόσι γάρ τοι ταῦτα μετ' Ἀργείοις ἀγορεύεις*. Aesch. P. V. 441, *ἀλλ' αὐτὰ σιγῶ· καὶ γὰρ εἰδυῖαισιν ἂν | λέγοιμι*. But see Hdt. iii. 103, *ἐπισταμένοισι τοῖσι Ἑλληνσι οὐ συγγράφω*.

18. *λείβομαι*. Hdt. uses the pass. of *λείπω* (and the fut. mid. in pass. sense) in two idiomatic ways, (1) to be left behind by, to be inferior to, (2) to be absent from, not to be present at. For (1) cf. ch. 86, *καμήλους οὐ λειπομένας ἵππων*. Ch. 48, *τὸ ναυτικὸν φαίνεται λείψεσθαι τοῦ ἐκείνων*. For (2) cf. ch. 168, *οὐδεμῇ κακότητι λειφθῆναι τῆς ναυμαχίης*. viii. 113, *οὗτος οὐκ ἔφη λείψεσθαι βασιλέος*.

23. *τιμωρήν κ. τίσιν*. Hdt. is fond of repetition for the sake of emphasis or clearness. Cf. ch. 40, *ἀναμῖξ οὐ διακεκριμένοι*. Ib. 130, *εὐαίρετόν τε καὶ ταχυνάλωτον*, and 222, *ἀέκοντες κ. οὐ βουλόμενοι*. viii. 70, *δέος τε κ. ἄρρωδίη*.

25. *μέλλω*. Notice the absence of connecting particle, (asyndeton): this is often the case with quotations, descriptions, or where the author goes on to explain some word just used (epexegetis), cf. chs. 128, 133, 142, 144, though in many cases of this sort γὰρ is used, cf. ch. 46.

27. *τιμωρήσομαι*. *τιμωρεῖν* (active) means to help (in life or in death), to avenge, with dat.; cf. ch. 169, *τιμωρέουσι τῇ Ἑλλάδι*. viii. 144, *τοῖσι ἡμέας ἀναγκαίως ἔχει τιμωρεῖν*. *τιμωρεῖσθαι* (mid.) means to help oneself, i.e. to avenge oneself on, punish, with acc. of person, and either gen. or acc. of thing for which the punishment is inflicted. Cf. iii. 145, *σφέας ἐγώ*

τιμωρήσομαι τῆς ἐνθάδε ἀπλξιος: Eux. Alc. 733, εἰ μὴ σ' ἀδελφῆς αἵμα τιμωρήσεται.

29. **ἰθύοντα.** One of the many Homeric terms which Hdt. has borrowed. *ἰθύω* is one of those words which are used in different senses in the Iliad and Odyssey. In the Iliad it always means to rush, of the warrior or the army, over the plain, cf. vi. 2, xii. 443: in Hdt. it is only once used in this sense, iv. 122, πρὸς τὴν μίην τῶν μοιρέων ἰθυσαν. In the Odyssey the meaning is the same as here, always metaphorical, foll. by an infin.; see xi. 591, xxii. 408.

33. **πρὶν ἢ ἔλω.** The omission of *ἂν* before the subjunctive (regular in Homer to mark the clause as general and indefinite, or frequentative, Monro §§ 283, 296) is common in Hdt. With *πρὶν* it is omitted oftener than not; cf. ch. 54, viii. 108. In other respects, Hdt.'s use of *πρὶν*, *πρὶν ἢ*, *πρότερον* or *πρότερα ἢ*, is regular:

(1) With affirmative chief sentence. { *πρὶν* with Infinitive. Cf. v. 65, ὅσα ἔρξαν *πρὶν ἢ* Ἰωνίην ἀποστῆναι.

(2) With negative, or virtually negative chief sentence, i.e. where *πρὶν* means *until*.

1. Of definite time: *πρὶν* with Indicative, vi. 79, οὐκ ὤρων *πρὶν* γε δὴ αὐτῶν τις κατεῖδε.

2. Of indefinite time: *πρὶν* with Subjunctive, with or without *ἂν*, the Opt. being never found, vii. 54, 197; iv. 196, οὔτε τοῦ χρυσοῦ ἄπτεσθαι *πρὶν ἂν* σφι ἀπισωθῇ....

An irregularity in i. 140 is due to the influence of the *Oratio Obliqua*.

**τὰς Ἀθήνας, οἳ γε.** Somewhat similar is viii. 74, πολλὰ ἐλέγετο· οἳ μὲν, κ.τ.λ.

39. **ὅτε... ἐστρατήγεον.** The invasion which ended in Marathon B.C. 490. *τὰ* demonstrative.

41. **μέντοι.** Each particle would seem to have its separate force, *μὲν* being answered by *δὲ* (after ἀγαθά).



**ἀνάρτημαι.** ἀρτάω (Ion. ἀρτέω) is literally 'to hang', cf. ἀρτάνη, a noose, ἄρτημα, ear-ring; in Hdt. always metaphorical, 'to be dependent on' (ἐκ). Cf. III. 19, πᾶς ἐκ Φοινίκων ἤρτητο ὁ ναυτικὸς στρατός. VI. 109, πάντα ἐκ σέο ἤρτηται. In the pass. the word has the meaning of being prepared (on the strain), VIII. 97; so 'to prepare', with acc. ch. 143. ἀναρτάομαι means to prepare one's mind, determine, cf. VI. 88, μαθὼν τοὺς Ἀθηναίους ἀνηρτημένους ἔρδειν. Cf. παραρτέεσθαι chs. 20 and 142.

42. **ἐν αὐτοῖσι.** Neuter, the undertaking, cf. I. 9, and infra chs. 46 and 50.

59. **ἐν ἡμετέρου.** This very strange expression, which occurs also in I. 35, μένων ἐν ἡμετέρου, would seem to be formed through a confusion of the phrases ἐν ἡμετέρῳ, sc. χώρῳ, and ἐν ἡμῶν.

61. **τίθημι ἐς μέσον.** VI. 129, τῷ λεγομένῳ ἐς τὸ μέσον. IV. 97, γνώμην τὴν ἀρίστην εὕρισκον ἐς μέσον φέρω.

9 4. **ἐπὶ κεο.** In ch. 35 the verb is used with a different application, but with the same idea of coming down upon, 'touching upon'.

6. **καταγελάσαι ἡμῖν.** So III. 37, 38, etc. The gen., which is alw. used in Att., is found V. 68; cf. ch. 191 n.

7. **Σάκας.** Probably referring to the Scythian expedition of Darius (IV. 1).

8. **Ἰνδοῦς,** i.e. the Punjâb, conquered by Darius, IV. 44.

**Αἰθίοπας,** i.e. those bordering on Egypt, III. 97, who were reduced by Cambyses; his expedition against the Ethiopians of Central Africa (the Soudan) was an utter failure, III. 25.

**Ἀσσυρίους.** Referring to Cyrus' conquest of Babylonia, I. 178.

12. **εἰ...οὐ τιμωρησόμεθα.** Cf. ch. 46, note on εἰ οὐ (4).

13. **συστροφῆν.** Cf. VI. 6, συστραφέντες οἱ στρατηγοὶ καὶ ἐν ποιήσαντες στρατόπεδον. Thucyd. II. 4, ὡς ἔγνωσαν ἡπατημένοι, ξυνεστρέφοντο ἐν σφίσιν αὐτοῖς.

14. **ἐπιστάμεθα μὲν...ἐπιστάμεθα δέ.** Hdt. and Soph. are both fond of repeating a word with μὲν...δὲ, without implying a contrast, or indeed anything more than τε...καί; cf. O. T. 219, ξένος μὲν τοῦ λόγου...ξένος δὲ τοῦ πραχθέντος. Ib. 4, 25. Hdt. II. 141, κατὰ μὲν φαγεῖν τοὺς φαρετρεῶνας, κατὰ δὲ τὰ τόξα. III. 126 etc.

μάχη, 'mode of fight'. Cf. ch. 85.

15. ἔχομεν καταστρεψάμενοι. A further point of connexion between the historian and the poet, the construction being specially common in these two authors. Cf. Soph. Ant. 22, τὸν μὲν προτίσας, τὸν δ' ἀτιμάσας ἔχει. Id. 77. Hdt. i. 27, τοὺς σὺ δουλώσας ἔχεις. II. 52, κόσμῳ θέντες τὰ πάντα εἶχον.

17. Ἴωνες. The inhabitants of the important towns on the coast of Asia Minor, from Miletus (S.) to Phocaea (N.). Cf. ch. 94 note.

Αἰολέες. Corresponding roughly to the Troad. Ionic and Aeolic Greeks had formed an important part of the army of Datis and Artaphernes.

18. Δωριέες. Probably the Δωριῆς Καρσί πρόσοικοι of Thucyd. ii. 9, including Rhodes, Cos, Carpathus and the Triopian promontory.

21. ὀλίγον ἀπολιπόντι. Mardonius presumes upon Xerxes' ignorance of geography. He did not get beyond Athos, which was not half way to Athens.

26. ἐξευρόντες. "The author is no doubt thinking of the battles before Troy and Tegea (i. 66), perhaps also of the plain between Eleusis and Thria, on which the Peloponnesians repeatedly offered the Athenians battle. Polyb. xiii. 3." Stein.

29. οὐδὲ ἀρχήν. ἀρχήν, with a negative, 'at all', is common in Hdt.; found in Soph. (Ant. 92, El. 439, Phil. 1239); not unfrequent, in the form τὴν ἀρχήν, in Demosth. and Plato. See Weber on Aristocr. 93, and cf. ch. 218 note.

31. καταλαμβάνειν, to restrain; Herodotean and very common, cf. i. 87, δυναμένους οὐκέτι καταλαβεῖν τὸ πῦρ. ix. 2, Θηβαῖοι κατελάμβανον Μαρδόνιον.

37. τούτου. Explained by μάχεσθαι.

41. τὰ—πρήγματα. Here, little more than οἱ Ἕλληνες; elsewhere, 'cause', 'party', 'power', with wide signification, chs. 10, 48, 50, etc.

45. δ' ὦν, 'anyhow', 'however that may be', used to sum up, or conclude an argument; cf. ch. 134; Thucyd. ii. 5, Θηβαῖοι μὲν ταῦτα λέγουσι...Πλαταιῆς δ' οὐχ ὁμολογοῦσι...ἐκ δ' οὖν...ἐχώρησαν.

46. ἀπὸ πείρης. Cf. Theocr. xv. 61, ἔς Τροίαν πειράμενοι ἦνθον Ἀχαιοί... πείρα θὴν πάντα τελεῖται.

47. ἐπιλέηνas. 'Having glozed over', commended in persuasive, flattering words, lit. smoothed; cf. viii. 142, λεήnas in the same sense.

10 4. τῷ δὴ, i.e. τῷ πάτρως εἶναι. The verb ἔλεγε must be supplied a second time; cf. ch. 190.

5. μὴ λεχθαισέων, i.e. ἐὰν μὴ λεχθῶσι.

7. αἰρεόμενον ἐλέσθαι, 'to make choice and select'; cf. ch. 109, ἰὼν παρήϊε. v. 95, φεύγων ἐκφεύγει. vi. 30, ἀνήχθη ἀγόμενος, 34 ἰόντες ἦϊσαν.

10. παρατρίψωμεν, i.e. to rub it (on the touch stone) by the side of some other, and baser, gold. A frequent simile; cf. Pind. P. x. 67, πειρώντι δὲ καὶ χρυσὸς ἐν βασάνῳ πρέπει καὶ νόος ὀρθός.

12. ἡγόρεον μὴ. Cf. iv. 83, the reason there given being τῶν Σκυθέων τὴν ἀπορίην.

20. αὐτοῖσι. Neut., cf. ch. 8 (42).

23. καὶ δὴ...συνήνεικε. 'Fac accidisse.' Cf. ch. 186 n.

The special and idiomatic meanings of καὶ δὴ, chiefly found in tragedy, are as follows:—

(1) Supposition, as here. Cf. Eur. Med. 386, καὶ δὴ τεθνᾶσι τίς με δέξεται πόλις; where Medea contemplates the murder of her children.

(2) 'Already.' Cf. Soph. O. C. 31, ἦ δεῦρο προσστείχοντα κᾶξορμώμενον; καὶ δὴ μὲν οὖν παρόντα, 'nay, already here'. Ch. 196.

(3) Affirmation in answers. Cf. Soph. El. 316, ὡς νῦν ἀπόντος ἱστόρει τί σοι φίλον; καὶ δὴ σ' ἐρωτῶ. Ar. Av. 175, etc.

29. οὐκ ᾧν. The negative form of καὶ δὴ supra (23).

ἐχώρησε (i.q. προυχώρησε), i.e. εὐτυχῶς. Cf. v. 89, ἡλθε μαντήϊόν σφι χωρήσειν τὰ βούλονται. viii. 68, χωρήσει τὰ νοέων ἐλήλυθας.

34. οἶον, sc. συμβάλλομαι.

37. παντοῖοι ἐγένοντο, followed, as here, by a participle in ix. 109, παντοῖος ἐγένετο οὐ βουλόμενος δοῦναι, by a simple infin. in iii. 124, παντοίῃ ἐγένετο μὴ ἀποδημήσαι Πολυκράτεια. Cf. viii. 59, πολλὸς ἦν ἐν τοῖσι λόγοις.

38. **δεόμενοι**, iv. 136 seqq. Their entreaties being backed by Miltiades, the victor at Marathon.

43. **ἐπ' ἀνδρὶ ἐνί**. Cf. ch. 52, viii. 29, **ἐπ' ἡμῖν ἐστι ἡνδραποδίσθαι ὑμέας**.

45. **μηδεμιῆς**, 'when, etc.'; the negative **μὴ** (not **οὐ**) is due to the preceding imper.

48. **ἐπὶ σεωυτοῦ**. Cf. the common Herodotean **ἐπὶ ἐωυτοῦ βαλλόμενος**, independently; on one's own responsibility; iii. 155, **ἐπ' ἐμεωυτοῦ βαλλόμενος ἔπρηξα**.

51. **θέλει**, cf. ch. 37 n.

53. **εἰ ἐπίσποιτο—εὔρηκε**. Notice the irregularity of the hypothesis. The perfect is equivalent to *an inevitable future*, and by contrast gives emphasis to the opt. (instead of subj. or fut.), which marks the remoteness of the possibility, and so its improbability.

54. **εὔρημα**. Cf. viii. 109; **εὔρημα εὔρήκαμεν ἡμέας τε αὐτοὺς καὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα**, is the conclusion of Themistocles after Salamis. Cf. **έρμαῖον**.

56. **φαντάζεσθαι**. Usually to shew oneself, of a ghost, ch. 15; of a hostile army, iv. 124; here, in an invidious sense, display themselves, *sese ostentare*.

57. **κνίξει**. Properly of the sting of a nettle, or bite of a fly. Frequently in a metaphorical sense, as here; cf. Soph. O. T. 786, **ἐκνιζέ μ' αἶε τοῦθ'**, of the slur cast on his birth.

**τὰ μέγιστα**. Cf. Hor. Od. ii. x. 9; i. xxxiv. 12.

59. **κολούειν**. Once only in Thucyd., vii. 66, and then in a similarly metaphorical sense, **ἄνδρες γὰρ ἐπειδὴν ᾧ ἀξιοῦσι προέχειν κολουθῶσι**.

62. **δι' ὧν ἐφθάρησαν**. The frequentative aorist of compound verbs 'in tmesi' with **ὧν** is very common in Hdt.; cf. ii. 39, **ἀπ' ὧν ἔδοντο**. Ib. 70, **κατ' ὧν ἔπλασε**. Ib. 87, **ἐν ὧν ἔπλησαν** etc. Cf. ch. 164 n.

67. **ἀνὰ χρόνον**, *interiecto tempore*; cf. i. 173, **Λύκιοι ἀνὰ χρόνον ἐκλήθησαν**.

71. **διαβάλλων**, 'slandering'. The word is used in a variety of senses, always with the idea of suspicion, or misrepresentation, prominent:

(1) To slander, accuse falsely, or disparage, as here. Cf.



Dem. 372, ἡ εἰρήνη δι' Αἰσχίνην διαβέβληται, 'has got a bad name'.

(2) to *misrepresent*, speak deceitfully, with or without acc. Cf. VIII. 110, Θεμιστοκλέης μὲν ταῦτα λέγων διέβαλλε. V. 50, διαβάλλων ἐκῶνον εἶ. VIII. 22, ἵνα τὰ γράμματα, ἐπεῖτε ἀνευειχθῇ καὶ διαβληθῇ πρὸς Ξέρξεα, ἀπίστους ποιήσῃ τοὺς Ἴωνας, 'that the writing, when reported to X. and represented as suspicious'.

(3) to *set at variance*. Cf. V. 96, διαβάλλων τοὺς Ἀθηναίους πρὸς τὸν Ἀρταφέρνηα. Esp. in pass.; V. 35, Μεγαβάτη διαβεβλημένος (at feud with); Pl. Phaëdo, 67 E, διαβέβληνται τῷ σώματι, of true philosophers.

77. ἀναπειθόμενος—ἐκμάθη. Cf. ch. 8 n. on πρίν. ἀναπειθόμενος implies 'not pausing to reflect', and may thus be called virtually negative.

83. ἦθεσι. In the Homeric sense; cf. Il. VI. 511, μετὰ τ' ἦθεα καὶ νομὸν ἵππων. Hes. Op. 137, ἦ θέμις ἀνθρώποισι κατ' ἦθεα. Very common in Hdt. of the settlements of men; cf. VII. 75, VIII. 100; of the haunts of lions, VII. 125; even of the path of the sun, II. 142, τετράκις ἔλεγον ἐξ ἡθέων τὸν ἥλιον ἀνατεῖλαι.

84. παραβαλλομένων. A term taken from gambling; cf. Il. IX. 322, αἰὲν ἐμὴν ψυχὴν παραβαλλόμενος. Thucyd. II. 44, παῖδας παραβαλλόμενοι (κινδυνεύειν). The transition from the amount staked to the danger run is only natural: thus we get in Thucyd. III. 14, τὸν κίνδυνον τῶν σωμάτων παραβαλλομένους, though this meaning is more commonly expressed by κίνδυνον ἀναρρίπτειν, where the metaphor is derived from another aspect of the game.

87. ἀναβαλῆν. For another meaning, 'the kingdom devolving upon', cf. ch. 205 n. More commonly ἀποβαλεῖν.

91. εἰ...οὐκ. Cf. ch. 46 note.

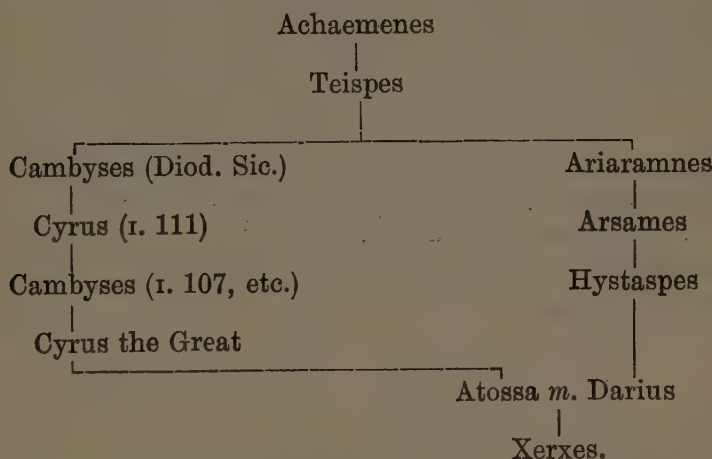
ταῦτα μὲν...σὺ δέ. Cf. ch. 6 (28) n.

92. ἀνάξεις. The expedition is regarded as starting by sea, hence ἀνα-.

96. ἢ σέ γε. For this rhetorical and poetical use of the pronoun (anaphora) strengthened by γε in the second clause, cf. Il. III. 409, εἶσοκέ σ' ἢ ἄλοχον ποιήσεται ἢ ὃ γε δούλην. Cf. Lat. poetical use of *ille*. Virg. Aen. V. 334, *Non tamen Euryali,*

*non ille oblitus amorum*; xi. 494, *aut ille...aut*. Cf. *ille quidem*, so constant in Cicero, found also in verse; Aen. x. 385, *ille quidem hoc sperans*. The idiom is not common in Hdt., and is only found in speeches; cf. ii. 173, *λάθοι ἂν ἢ τοι μανὲς ἢ ὃ γε ἀπόπληκτος γενόμενος*.

9. *μη γὰρ εἶην*. The conjecture of Rawlinson, that *καὶ* 11 *Κύρου τοῦ Καμβύσεω* has been wrongly omitted before *τοῦ Κύρου*, is extremely plausible. Xerxes would then be giving a clear account of his descent on both sides, through Darius and Atossa, from Achaemenes. The right hand column is confirmed by the great Behistun inscription of Darius. See R., s. l.



Nöldeke, however (En. Brit. s. Persia), maintains the direct line of descent through Darius, as given by Hdt.

14. *ἀλλ' οὐκ...ἀλλά*. Distinguish between the two *ἀλλά*'s: 'yet', and 'but'. For the former ('yet'), or 'ἀλλά in apodosis', i.e. introducing the second and chief clause of a conditional sentence, cf. II. viii. 154,

*Εἴπερ γάρ σ' Ἔκτωρ γε κακὸν καὶ ἀνάλκιδα φήσει,  
ἀλλ' οὐ πείσονται Τρῶες.*

Also cf. 'δὲ in apodosis', ch. 51 (3) n.

*καὶ μάλα*, 'will further...'. It hardly seems to have the definiteness, which Stein's transl. *vel iterum* would convey. Cf. ch. 186 n.

16. *ἐξ ἐκείνων*. Cf. ch. 18 (20) n.

17. *ἐξαναχωρεῖν*. Cf. the well-known scene between Nicias and Cleon, described in Thucyd. iv. 28, in which the latter *ἐξανεχώρει τὰ εἰρημένα*.

20. *τὸ μέσον κ.τ.λ.* Lit. 'the middle course in this quarrel is nothing', i.e. middle course in this quarrel there is none.

23. *τὸ δεινὸν, τὸ πείσομαι, τοῦτο* is curiously paralleled by Soph. Ant. 95:

ἀλλ' ἔα με καὶ τὴν ἐξ ἐμοῦ δυσβολίαν

παθεῖν τὸ δεινὸν τοῦτο.

25. *ἑὼν δούλος*. "Hdt. tells us at the beginning of his history, that the Persians considered Asia and all its nations as their own always (i. 4). In this spirit X. is made to claim Pelops the Phrygian as a vassal, though at the time when Pelops (according to the tradition) came to Greece (about B.C. 1300), the Persian tribes were probably confined as yet within the Caspian Gates, or perhaps had not even emerged from their primitive seats beyond the Hindoo Koosh mountains." (R.)

27. *ἐπώνυμος* takes a gen. of the person or thing, after whom anything is named, with or without *ἐπί*. Cf. Pind. I. v. 53, *δρυγχος (αἰετοῦ) κέκλετ' ἐπώνυμον Αἶαντα*, and Hdt. ii. 112, *ἱρὸν ξείνης Ἀφροδίτης ἐπώνυμον*.

12 2. *τε...καί*. Coordination of clauses expressing identity in time, which we should make subordinate, one to the other (when night came on, then etc.), is exceedingly common in Hdt.; cf. ch. 23, 217; viii. 56, 64, 83. Cf. also ch. 160 note.

3. *νυκτὶ βουλὴν διδούς*. Themistocles in his wanderings is advised by a prophet, "*νυκτὶ φωνήν, νυκτὶ βουλὴν, νυκτὶ τὴν νίκην δίδου*", and he, like X., goes to sleep and sees a vision, Plut. Them. 26.

4. *οἱ οὐ πρῆγμα*. *πρῆγμα* sing. in Hdt. has the meaning of (1) business, v. 84, *σφίσι τε καὶ Ἀθηναίοισι εἶναι μηδὲν πρῆγμα*. (2) matter of importance, generally in the phrase *πρῆγμα ποιεῖσθαι*. Cf. ch. 150, but also iii. 132, *ἦν μέγιστον πρῆγμα Δημοκῆδης παρὰ βασιλείῃ*. (3) necessary duty, as here; cf. ch. 130. (4) trouble with *ἔχειν* or *παρέχειν*. Cf. ch. 239. In this sense the pl. is more common.

6. *κατῴπνωσε*. Both active and passive forms are used in the same sense; cf. ch. 14, *κατυπνωμένω*.

9. μετὰ, in 'tmesis'; cf. ch. 10 (62), and 164.

10. προείπας. Cf. ch. 2 (5) note.

12. πάρα, as Stein well points out, carries the meaning of *πάρεμι*, *neque is (tibi) adsum qui tibi indulgeam*.

5. ἀγχίστροφα. Cf. Thucyd. II. 53 (of those attacked by 13 the plague), ἀγχίστροφον τὴν μεταβολὴν ὀρῶντες τῶν τ' εὐδαιμόνων καὶ τῶν οὐδὲν πρότερον κεκτημένων.

6. ἐμεωυτοῦ, after φρενῶν.

8. ἀκούσαντι μέντοι. μέντοι really only modifies the clause νῦν—γνώμη, with which it is repeated, the first clauses being subordinate, and as it were parenthetical, in thought.

12. ὥς μεταδεδογμένον. The acc. absolute, with, or without ὥς, is common with impers. verbs, or passives used impersonally; cf. III. 148, δόξαν. V. 49, παρέχον. IV. 29, ὁρθῶς εἰρημένον... παραγίνεσθαι.

7. παρ' οὐδενός. From a nobody, one of no importance; 14 cf. IX. 58, οὐδένες ἄρα ἔδυντες ἐν οὐδαμοῖσι ἐοῦσι "Ἐλλησι ἑναπε- δεικνύατο.

9. τάδε ἀνασχῆσιν. In neuter sense, generally of the sun rising. With the present use cf. V. 106, πρῆγμα, ἐκ τοῦ σοί τι ἢ μέγα ἢ σμικρὸν ἔμελλε λυπηρὸν ἀνασχῆσιν.

ἐξ αὐτῶν, 'from this course'; cf. ch. 8 (42) n.

1. περιδεής. For this intensive use of περι cf. περιοργής, 15 περικαλλής, περιδείδω, περιημεκτεῖν.

2. ἔδραμε...πέμπει. Cf. ch. 42 (11) n.

3. καλέοντα. Future.

8. οὐκ ὦν δυνατός εἰμι, 'yet I find myself unable'; cf. III. 137, ταῦτα λέγοντες τοὺς Κροτωνιήτας οὐκ ὦν ἔπειθον.

12. διαπειλήσαν. For the force of δια (thoroughly, i.e. vehemently) cf. διεργάζομαι, διαπονέω, διαπυνθάνομαι, διερευνῶ. The prep. has a different meaning in διαπίνειν (V. 18, IX. 16), διαθεῖν (Pl. Prot. 335 E), διάδω, etc., generally followed by dat., which signify to have a drinking match, a race, a singing match, etc. with.

3. τῷ πρώτῳ οἱ κελεύσματι. For the dat. of interest 16 replacing a possess. pronoun, cf. I. 1, τὸ δέ οἱ οὐνομα. Ib. 31, οἱ σφί βόες. Infr. ch. 27, ὅς τοι τὸν πατέρα, 38, 125 etc.



4. οὐκ ἀξιεύμενος. It was treason for a subject to take his seat on the throne.

6. ἴσον ἐκεῖνο. Cf. Hes. Op. 293:

οὗτος μὲν πανάριστος, ὃς αὐτὸς πάντα νοήσῃ·  
ἐσθλὸς δ' αὖ καὶ κεῖνος, ὃς εὖ εἰπόντι πίθηται.

Cf. also Livy xxii. 29, Cic. pro Cluent. 31.

ἴσον—καί, 'as good as'; cf. ch. 84 (3) n. τὴν αὐτὴν καί. 50 ὁμοίησι καί. Lat. *perinde ac, aequè ac*. ἐκεῖνο is expl. by φρονέειν εὖ.

8. περιήκοντα has been taken as agreeing (1) with τὰ, governing σε, 'and though both these things have fallen to thy lot'; in which case the clause is a nominativus pendens, and for περιήκοντα no satisfactory expl. can be found: (2) with σε, governing τὰ, σε being governed by σφάλλουσι, 'and though thou hast attained to...'. For περ. cf. vi. 86, τὸν ἄνδρα φαμὲν τὰ τε ἄλλα πάντα περιήκειν τὰ πρῶτα καὶ δὴ καὶ ἀκούειν ἄριστα.

9. κακῶν ὁμιλῖαι. Cf. 1 Cor. xv. 33, μὴ πλανᾶσθε· φθείρουσιν ἡθὴ χρηστὰ ὁμιλῖαι κακάι.

11. οὐ περιορᾶν χρῆσθαι. As Mr Cooke observes, in Wm. Black's *Princess of Thule* there occurs a similar idea. "But that is not the sea at all, said Sheila, that is the storms that will wreck the boats; and how can the sea help that? When the sea is let alone the sea is very good to us." The idea first occurs in a fragment of Solon:

ἐξ ἀνέμων δὲ θάλασσα ταρασσεται· ἣν δέ τις αὐτὴν  
μὴ κινῆ, πάντων ἐστὶ δικαιοσύνη.

26. αὐται—τά τις. Constr. κατὰ σύνεσιν. 'Those visions, things which we think of', i.e. visions concerning the things we think of.

28. καὶ τὸ κάρτα. The article adds emphasis; cf. i. 71, νομιζόμενος καὶ πρόσθεν εἶναι σοφὸς ἀπὸ τούτου καὶ τὸ κάρτα ὄνομα (sc. σοφοῦ) ἔχων.

31. συλλαβών. 'Thou hast thyself declared the whole matter in a few words.' Cf. iii. 82, ἐνὶ ἑπεί πάντα συλλαβόντα εἰπεῖν. In Attic, συνελών, ὡς συνελόντι εἰπεῖν, are more common. Others, less probably, have given συλλαβών here the meaning of comprehending; cf. i. 91, ii. 49, etc.

33. οὐδὲν μᾶλλον ἢ οὐ. Redundant negative, not uncommon after μᾶλλον or other comparatives which imply a neg. Cf. iv. 118, ἥκει γὰρ ὁ Πέρσης οὐδὲν τι μᾶλλον ἐπ' ἡμέας ἢ οὐ καὶ ἐπ' ὑμέας. Thucyd. iii. 36, πόλιν δλην διαφθεῖραι μᾶλλον ἢ οὐ τοὺς αἰτίους. Ib. ii. 62.

35. εἴ περ γε καὶ ἄλλως. 'Supposing indeed it is willing at all to appear.' For ἄλλως in this sense after εἰ, εἴπερ, cf. Aesch. Cho. 680, ἐπέπερ ἄλλως, ὦ ξέν', εἰς Ἀργος κίεις. Hdt. viii. 30, εἰ ἄλλως βουλοῖατο.

The meaning of ἄλλως, though easy to perceive, is difficult to explain. It means 'apart from the present consideration' (of my personating you), and hence 'in any case' or 'at all'. We may explain in a similar way the use of the word in iii. 139, ἐγὼ ταύτην πωλέω μὲν οὐδενὸς χρήματος, δίδωμι δὲ ἄλλως, where ἄλλως seems to mean 'apart from all considerations of money', i.e. gratis.

40. εἰ δέ. 'What we have now to learn is, whether while disregarding me entirely, under all circumstances, it will yet continue to visit you.' For οὐ after εἰ interrog. cf. ch. 46 n.

45. αὐτὸ, 'your resolve'; cf. ch. 8 (42).

2. ἀποδέξιν. Here, 'to prove'; for other meanings cf. 17 ch. 118 n.

λέγοντα οὐδὲν, 'talking nonsense', or, more generally, 'mistaken', 'wrong'; opp. to λέγειν τι, Soph. O. T. 1475.

6. ὄνειρον. The Greek idea mixes up dream and vision, and gives to the dream a personal reality. Cf. the sending of the dream to Agamemnon in the beginning of Iliad ii.

κατυπνωμένῳ. Distinguish in meaning from κατυπνομένῳ.

9. ὥς δῆ, 'because, as you say'.

11. καταπροΐξαι. A favourite word with Hdt., used only in the Fut. tense, and often followed, as here, by a Partic.; cf. iii. 156, οὐ γὰρ δῆ ἐμὲ λωβησάμενος καταπροΐξεται (cf. προῖκα gratis).

τὸ χρεών, i.e. ἐκεῖνο ὃ χρεών ἐστι. Hdt. and Thucyd. almost always say χρεών ἐστι, Soph. always χρεών alone.

4. καὶ ὅς. Not rare in Hdt. for the demonstrative; cf. viii. 18 56, καὶ οἱ, διαλυθέντες ἐκ τοῦ συνεδρίου, ἐσέβαινον. Id. 87, καὶ ἡ,

οὐκ ἔχουσα διαφυγεῖν. Cf. the familiar *ὁς καὶ ὁς* (*hic vel ille*), and *ἦ δ' ὅς*.

6. *δεύτερα*. Simply 'then'; cf. ch. 148.

8. *πεσόντα... ὑπό*. Cf. ch. 22 note.

9. *οὐκ ἔων*, 'was not for allowing'.

11. *Κύρου στόλον*. Narrated i. 201—214.

13. *τὸν Καμβύσῳ*. iii. 25.

15. *ἀτρεμίζοντα*, contains the protasis to the conditional latent in *σε εἶναι*, 'that as long as you kept quiet, you were, &c.'

17. *Ἑλλήας*, i.e. in refusing to submit at once.

19. *μετατίθεμαι*, cf. *μεταβαίνω*, *μεταβουλεύω*, *μεταγιγνώσκω*. This meaning, of *change*, is not found in the uses of the preposition itself, but is connected with its use as expressing succession, 'next after'.

20. *ἐκ τοῦ θεοῦ*. Cf. ch. 95, *προσετέτακτο ἐκ βασιλέος*. 175, *τὰ λεχθέντα ἐξ Ἀλεξάνδρου*. Cf. also ch. 11, and ii. 148, *τὰ ἐξ Ἑλλήνων τέλεια*. iii. 14, *τὸ ποιούμενον πᾶν ἐξ ἐκείνου*. This usage is very wide in Hdt. In Attic it is regularly found to express the 'ultimate cause' only; cf. Jebb, O.T. 590. *ὑπὸ* is also replaced in Hdt. by *πρὸς* (60), *ἀπὸ* (102), *παρὰ* (103), the idea of the *source*, or *quarter*, from which the action proceeds being the most prominent.

19 3. *φέρειν*, (interpreted) 'that it related', frequently of oracles; cf. vi. 19, ix. 33.

4. *δουλεύσειν*. Carefully distinguish *δουλεύω*, *servire*; *δουλόω*, *in servitium redigere*.

7. *ἀφανισθῆναι*, 'vanished'.

20 4. *χειρί*. Of a force of troops; a favourite expression of Hdt.; cf. ch. 157, *χειρ μεγάλη συνάγεται*. iv. 155, *τέφ δυνάμει, κοίῃ χειρί*;

8. *Σκύθαι*. For the Scythian invasion of Asia Minor, in revenge for which Darius undertook his invasion of Scythia, cf. i. 103, iv. 1, 11.

10. *Ἀσίης*. In the restricted sense of ch. 1 (12) n.

12. *κατὰ τὰ λεγόμενα*. Possibly a reference to the ships' catalogue in II. ii.

13. *τὸν Μυσῶν τε καὶ Τευκρῶν*. Of this expedition, referred to again ch. 75, we have no historical information.

16. Ἴόνιον πόντον, or Ἴόνιον πόρον, so named after the fugitive Io (Ἰώ), Aesch. P.V. 733. Distinguish carefully from Ἰωνικόν, Ἴωνες (Ἴων, ch. 94).

17. πρὸς μεσαμβρίας. Both gen. and acc. are used with πρὸς to express direction; cf. ch. 55, and 126, where the two constructions are found.

1. καὶ οὐδ' εἰ ἔτεραι, sc. εἰσι. 'Yea, not even though there 21  
be others'; cf. Soph. Phil. 1204, ξίφος εἰ ποθεν, ἢ γένυν, ἢ βελέων  
τι, προπέμψατε. οὐδ' anticipates the coming negative.

1. ὥς προσπταισάντων. προσπταίω, lit. to strike against, 22  
or sprain, e.g. vi. 134, τὸ γόνυ. Hence intr. to stumble, come to  
grief, as of shipwreck or defeat, ch. 210. Cf. similar use of  
σφάλλσθαι, lit. to be tripped.

For the shipwreck of Mardonius' fleet off Athos, which, together with the defeat of his land force by the Thracians, put an end to the expedition, cf. vi. 44.

5. ἐνθεύτεν ὀρμεόμενοι, 'with Elaeus as their base', or headquarters; cf. viii. 112, 133. In i. 36, of a wild boar's lair, ὀρμεόμενος ἐκ τοῦ οὐρεος τὰ ἔργα διεφθείρεσκε. Where definite departure from is meant, Hdt. generally uses the Aorist, cf. ch. 26; though not invariably, cf. ch. 30. For the Perf. partic. 'on the march', cf. ch. 37. In general, in the Pres. and Imperf. tenses, ὀρμᾶσθαι signifies to set about doing, or prepare; in the Perf., to have set about, and hence to be in a state of motion, or complete preparation; cf. ch. 1, 4, 19, and see ch. 29 note.

6. ὑπὸ μαστίγων. Lit. compelled by scourges. ὑπὸ and the gen. are used with active and neuter verbs, to express:

(1) compelling agency or cause, as here and in ch. 56. So v. 61, ὑπὸ Βοιωτῶν ἀναχωρέουσι.

(2) internal impulse, viii. 1, ὑπὸ ἀρετῆς κ. προθυμίας συνεπλήρουν τὰς νέας. i. 85, ὑπὸ δέους ἔρρηξε φωνήν.

(3) accompaniment or attendant action, commonly of music: e.g. i. 17, ἐστρατεύετο ὑπὸ σαλπίγγων. Eur. Hipp. 1299, ὑπ' εὐκλείας θάνη, attended by glory. Somewhat similar is the use in ix. 98, ὑπὸ κήρυκος προηγόρευε, where accompaniment is developed into instrument.

8. Βουβάρης had been sent as envoy to Macedonia (v. 21),



and is mentioned as having made a Macedonian marriage (VIII. 136).

14. *πεδῖον δὲ τοῦτο*. *τοῦτο*, i. q. ὁ ἰσθμὸς, attracted to the gender of *πεδῖον*, cf. ch. 41 (9) n.

18. *αἱ δὲ ἐντὸς Σάνης*. *Sanè* lay on the Isthmus; the other cities beyond it, in the peninsula. Cf. VIII. 47, *ἐντὸς οἰκημένοι Θεσπρωτῶν κ. Ἀχέροντος ποταμοῦ* (on the hither side of); VI. 44, *τὰ ἐντὸς Μακεδόνων ἔθνεα*.

All these cities are mentioned Thucyd. iv. 109. *Sanè*, an Andrian colony, and Dios alone resisted Brasidas B.C. 424.

23 2. *δασάμενοι*, sc. ὄρυσσον.

3. *κατὰ Σάνην πόλιν*, 'close by the city of *Sanè*'. *Sanè* lay 'along the canal' (*παρ' αὐτὴν τὴν διώρυχα*, Thucyd. iv. 109).

6. *τὸν αἰεὶ ἐξορυσσόμενον*. *αἰεὶ* is constantly joined with a partic., to express repetition or succession, and has much the same sense as *ἐκάστοτε*. Here we have 'the earth which from time to time was dug out'. So II. 98, *τοῦ αἰεὶ βασιλεύοντος* (of each successive king), and IX. 102, *τοῖσι αἰεὶ ἐσπίπτουσι* (to those who kept pouring in).

10. *καταρρηγνύμενοι οἱ κρημνοί*, 'the falling in of the sides'. This idiom, though frequent in Hdt., is not so common in Greek as in Latin, and is sometimes used as being more vivid than an infinitive. Cf. Dem. xviii. 32, *διὰ τούτους οὐχὶ πεισθέντας*. Pind. P. xi. 22, *Ἰφιγένει' ἐπ' Εὐρίπῳ σφαχθεῖσα ἔκνισε*, where see Gildersleeve's note. Tac. Ann. i. 8, *cum occisus... Caesar... pessimum facinus videretur*, i.e. the assassination of C.

12. *ἄτε ποιευμένων*. Goodwin § 109. 3 (a). *ἄτε* strengthens the partic., and makes the idea of *cause* plain. Hdt. also uses *οἶα* (ch. 6, 119) and *ὥστε* in the same way; cf. VI. 23, *ὥστε ἑὼν διάφορος*.

13. *ἔμελλε*, 'it was natural'; cf. IX. 66, *εὖ ἐξεπιστάμενος τὰ ἔμελλε ἀποβήσεσθαι* (what must result), and Ar. Ach. 347, *ἐμέλλετ' ἄρα πάντες ἀνασελεῖν βοήν* (you were bound to, I knew you would). Id. Ran. 268, *ἔμελλον ἄρα παύσειν ποθ' ὑμᾶς τοῦ κοᾶξ*.

14. *σοφίην*, 'skill'. Cf. IX. 62, of skill in arms, *ἀνεπιστήμονες κ. οὐχ ὁμοῖοι σοφίην*. Of musical skill, Xen. An. i. 2. In Pind. throughout, *σοφία* is poetic skill or art, *σοφὸς* the regular word for poet.

15. καὶ δὴ καὶ, 'and particularly'.

17. ἐπέβαλλε. Cf. iv. 115, ἀπολαχόντες τὸ ἐπιβάλλον, sc. μέρος, what fell to their share; St L. xv. 12, τὸ ἐπιβάλλον μέρος τῆς οὐσίας, of the Prodigal's share.

20. συνῆγον αἰεὶ, 'they kept reducing the width'.

κάτω τε δὴ κ.τ.λ. Cf. ch. 12 (2) n.

21. τοῖσι ἄλλοισι, 'to that of the others', a condensed form of expr., 'comparatio compendiaria'. Cf. ii. 134, πυραμίδα πολλὸν ἐλάσσω τοῦ πατρός. II. xvii. 51, κόμαι χαρίτεσσιν ὁμοῖαι.

23. πολλὸς, with ἐφοῖτα, 'was imported in large quantities'. φοιτᾶν, lit. to come frequently, or to come and go, is often employed in reference to articles of commerce; cf. iii. 115, ὁ τε κασσίτερος ἡμῖν φοιτᾶ καὶ τὸ ἤλεκτρον, and inf. ch. 126. The word is also used of regular attendance at lectures or school; hence οἱ φοιτῶντες, schoolboys.

1. ὥς ἐμὲ...εὐρίσκειν. Cf. ch. 184, 187; viii. 30. συμβάλ- 24  
λεσθαι is to conjecture, infer from comparison. For the infin. cf. ii. 28, ὥς ἐμὲ κατανοεῖν. Id. 125, ὥς ἐμὲ μεμνηῆσθαι, and the common ὥς ἐμοὶ δοκεῖν. Without ὥς, ch. 173, δοκέει μοι; ii. 21, λόγῳ εἰπεῖν. Goodwin, § 100.

5. τὸν ἰσθμὸν τὰς νέας διειρύναι. A common practice among the Greeks. Thucyd. iii. 81, iv. 8. The line along which ships were dragged across the Isthmus of Corinth acquired the name of Diolcus.

6. ὥς...ἐλαστρευμένας. The same phrase occurs ii. 158, in the description of a canal from the Nile to the Red Sea.

Traces of the canal still remain, shewing it to have been 25 yds. broad and 1½ mile in length. An undertaking of this size was thought almost superhuman by the Romans. Juvenal disbelieved in it, as well as in the Hellespontine bridge, and the exhaustion of the rivers.

Cf. Sat. x. 173:

*Creditur olim*

*Velificatus Athos, et quidquid Graecia mendax*

*Audet in historia; constratum classibus isdem*

*Suppositumque rotis solidum mare; credimus altos*

*Defecisse amnes, epotaque flumina Medo  
Prandente;*

and Catullus, LXVI. 43:

*Ille quoque eversus mons est, quem maximum in orbe  
Progenies Thiae clara supervehitur,  
Cum Medi peperere novum mare, cumque iuventus  
Per medium classi barbara navit Athon.*

25 2. ὄπλα, cables.

5. σιτία καταβάλλειν, dep. on παρεσκευάζετο, 'to establish magazines'.

7. ἀναπυθόμενος. Cf. ἀνερευνᾶν, ἀνασκοπεῖν, ἀνακρίνειν, all denoting careful investigation.

12. Δορίσκος (cf. ch. 59) lay at the mouth of the Hebrus; Eïon, an Athenian colony, at the mouth of the Strymon. Perinthus was a Samian colony, afterwards famous for its stubborn resistance to Philip of Macedon, B.C. 340.

14. διατεταγμένοι, 'severally', 'in separate companies'; cf. ch. 178, VIII. 34.

26 7. ὅς. Cf. ch. 37 (13) n.

8. τὰ προκείμενα, lit. what is set before one; here, of a prize; above, of a task.

10. οὐδὲ...ἀρχήν. Cf. chs. 9 and 218.

12. ὠμίλησαν τῇ Φρυγίῃ. Cf. ch. 214, ὠμιληκῶς τῇ χώρῃ, and Aesch. Eum. 720, βαρεῖα χώρα τῇδ' ὠμιλήσω πάλιν. Usually of personal intercourse.

13. πηγαὶ Μαιάνδρου ποταμοῦ. Cf. Xen. (An. i. 28), who describes the sources of both the Maeander and Catarrectes or Marsyas. The Maeander, he tells us, welled up in the court of Cyrus' palace at Celaenae, and flowed through his park; the Catarrectes in a cave, where the skin of Marsyas hung.

27 1. ὑποκατημένος. Cf. VIII. 40, ὑποκατημένους τοὺς βαρβάρους, of an ambush.

5. ἐπηγγέλλετο, 'offered'. A different use from that in ch. 1, where see note.

7. τίς τε ἐὼν...ἐπαγγέλλοιτο. Here, as frequently, the emphasis of the question lies in the participle; cf. infr. ch. 102, ὅσοι τινὲς ἐόντες οἶοι τέ εἶσιν.

10. τοι. Cf. ch. 16 (3) n.

τῇ πλατανίστῳ, 'the well known plane tree', which was described by Antiochus, the Arcadian envoy to Susa in 368 B.C., as not large enough to shade a grasshopper (Xen. Hell. vi. 1, 38). Antiochus, however, was, as R. points out, anxious 'to decry the resources of Persia'. It was carried off by Antigonus, B.C. 316. The golden vine overshadowed the royal couch (see R.); the grapes were represented by precious stones.

10. **ταλάντων.** In Persia the Babylonian talent was used 28 in weighing silver, the Euboean (in weight  $\frac{3}{4}$  Bab. Tal) in weighing gold, III. 89. This Babylonian talent was of rather less weight than the Aeginetan (82 lbs. avoird.), which was the chief commercial standard of Greece in early times, being considerably greater than the Attic talent of Solon (56 lbs.). The 2000 silver talents would be worth nearly £500,000 of our money, but in reality represented a far greater sum, the purchasing value of silver, and its worth in relation to gold, having been much higher than at the present day.

The Stater and Daric were the chief gold coins of Greece and Persia respectively, and were of about the same value, £1. 2s. nearly, though representing silver to the amount of 16s. 3d. only. The fortune of Pythius in gold would therefore be equal to over four millions of our money.

In i. 94, we are told that the Lydians were the first to use gold and silver coinage.

14. **γεωπεδίων.** Attic γήπεδον.

**βίος.** For βίος in the sense of *living* or *maintenance* cf. VIII. 26 and 51.

4. **ἐξηλθον τὴν χώραν.** So v. 104, ἐξελθόντα τὸ ἄστυ. Ib. 103, 29 ἐκπλώσαντες ἔξω (adv.) τὸν Ἑλλησποντον, and ch. 58. The special force of the prep. is lost in that of the verb as a whole, to quit. Cf. ἐκστῆναι, to shun, Soph. Aj. 82, φρονοῦντα γάρ νιν οὐκ ἂν ἐξέστην ὀκνῶ. Dem. xix. 411, ἐκτρέπεται με. Virg. Aen. v. 437, corpore tela...exit.

**συνέμιξα.** We can hardly avoid translating the Aor. here by an Engl. Perf. The fact is that in Greek the Perf. and Pluperf. have a very special use, which does not quite correspond to that of the Engl. Perf. and Pluperf., with *have*, *had*. They are, as a rule, reserved to express the *state resulting from* a completed



action; cf. ch. 40, 83, 158, 218, etc. So, where we use the Perf., the Greeks sometimes employ another tense, i.e. the Aor. The point of view from which they regard the action is different from ours. *They* view it as a single act in the past, 'I met', 'I heard': *we* think of the present result rather than the past action, 'I have met', i.e. I remember meeting; 'I have heard', i.e. I am informed.

We may notice three special types of this usage:—

(1) Where the action takes place in the *immediate past*; e.g. συνέμιξα, ἐξείνισας, ch. 158, ἐτολμήσατε. In many cases of this sort the Aor. may be translated by an Engl. Pres., and is then called a *momentary Aor.*; e.g. ch. 39, ἐτράπευ, ἐτόλμησας. Cf. ἥσθην, ἐπήνεσα, κ.τ.λ.

(2) In expressions referring to an indefinite past; such as ch. 35, ἤδη ἤκουσα. II. 148, ἤδη ἴδον. In Soph. Aj. 1142 foll. εἶδον and ὅπωπα are however both used in this same sense.

(3) When the action is described as preceding some other action, e.g. ch. 39, ὡς ὑπεκρίνατο, ἐκέλευε. 193, ὡς ἐπαύσατο ὁ ἄνεμος, ...ἔπλεον, 'had answered', 'had ceased'.

The difference really lies rather in the mode of viewing the action than in the mere form of expression.

8. συμβαλέσθαι, to contribute; cf. VIII. 61, γνώμας συμβάλλεσθαι. Cf. the use, ch. 24 (1).

12. τὰς τετρακοσίας κ.τ.λ. The article is used throughout, the reference being to a *definite* amount previously mentioned, and its parts.

15. ἀπαρτιλογία. 'A round sum' (ἀπαρτί, completely, and λόγος, calculation).

16. κέκτησο, 'continue to possess'; ἐκτήσας, 'you acquired'.

17. ἐπίστασο. 'Know how to', i.e. have the sense to. Cf. III. 15, εἰ ἡπιστήθη μὴ πολυπρηγμονεῖν, and Xen. Mem. III. 9, 4 (quoted by Schweig.), τὸν τὰ αἰσχροῦ εἰδὸτα εὐλαβεῖσθαι.

τοιούτος, 'such as you are at present'. Taking its meaning from the context, and often to be explained by some preceding word or sentence.

19. ἐς χρόνον. Cf. III. 72, and IX. 89, οὐ γὰρ ὑμῖν ἐς χρόνον μεταμελήσει. ἐς χρόνον, 'hereafter', is peculiar to Hdt., though we have εἰς ἅπαντα χρόνον, Aesch. Eum. 763.

3. **λίμνην.** This salt lake has been identified; the river Lycus 30 still flows in a deep chasm, though no longer arched over (R.).

6. **διὰ...κη.** διὰ with the gen. frequently expresses an interval (of time or place); cf. ch. 198, also i. 179, διὰ τριήκοντα δόμων, at intervals of 30 layers; Thucyd. iii. 21, διὰ δέκα ἐπάλλξεων, and the common διὰ χρόνου πολλοῦ, δι' ὀλίγου, διὰ μακροῦ. As the original meaning of διὰ is *through*, this idiom has plainly arisen from regarding the interval as space to be *passed through*, before the point in question is reached. Below, in διὰ γραμμάτων, the meaning *through* has developed into that of the medium or instrument.

7. **ὥς...κη.** Modifying πέντε: 'about five, I should say'.

**ἀναφαινόμενος.** Reappearing. Cf. ἀναβλέπειν, ἀναβιοῦν to recover one's sight, one's life.

8. **καὶ οὗτος.** As well as the Catarrectes.

12. **καταμηνύει.** In Attic usually 'to inform against'.

4. **ἐπὶ Καρίης,** 'towards Caria', ἐς Σάρδεις, 'to (into) Sardis'. 31

5. **τῇ καὶ.** καὶ, here untranslatable, is idiomatically used to introduce a further detail; cf. ch. 112, τῶν καὶ ἐνί.

8. **μέλι ποιεῦσι.** Cf. iv. 194, the description of the Libyan Gyzantes, ἐν τοῖσι μέλι πολλὸν μέλισσαι κατεργάζονται, πολλῶ δ' ἔτι πλέον λέγεται δημιουργοὺς ἄνδρας ποιέειν. Honey, combs and all, is manufactured at the present day in America; that of Callatebus was possibly a less close imitation, perhaps resembling the Swiss.

9. **πλατάνιστον.** 'The plane trees of this district are magnificent' (R.).

10. **μελεδωνῶ.** Predicative. Att. ἐπιμελητής. ἀνδρὶ ἀθανάτῳ, one of the Immortal band, for whom see ch. 83; or possibly (with Stein) a guardian, whose successor was appointed before his death, on the analogy of the 'Immortal' warriors.

12. **τῶν Λυδῶν τὸ ἄστυ,** 'the capital of Lydia'.

3. **γῆν τε καὶ ὕδωρ.** As tokens of submission. Abicht 32 quotes Arist., Rhet. ii. 23, τὸ διδόναι γῆν καὶ ὕδωρ δουλεῖν ἐστὶ. Similar demands on the part of Darius had been refused by the Scythian king (iv. 126), but complied with by Amyntas of Macedonia. The reason why Athens and Sparta were excepted is given ch. 133.

4. πλήν. Here a conjunction; cf. ch. 84.

5. ἐπὶ γῆς αἰτησιν. Hdt. uses both acc. and dat. with ἐπὶ, to express the object or end; the acc. however is found after verbs of motion only, only the dat. with abstract nouns. Cf. III. 14, ἐξέπεμπε τὴν θυγατέρα ἐπ' ὕδωρ, and infra ch. 193, εὖτ' ἐπὶ τὸ κῶας ἐπλεον, whereas we find in I. 68, ἐπὶ κακῷ ἀνθρώπου σίδηρος ἀνεύρηται. IV. 164, τοὺς δὲ ἀπέστειλε ἐπὶ διαφθορῇ. V. 6, πωλεῦσι τὰ τέκνα ἐπ' ἐξαγωγῇ. Infra ch. 146, ἐπ' οἷσι ἦλθον.

6. τῇ δὲ ἄλλῃ. This adverbial dat., ἄλλῃ, or τῇ ἄλλῃ, is used by Hdt. with verbs of motion, as here, as well as of rest, and means, (1) 'in other ways', VI. 21, δῆλον ἐποίησαν...τῇ τε ἄλλῃ πολλαχῇ κ.... (2) 'in other places', II. 36, τῇ μὲν ἄλλῃ κομέουσι, ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ δέ.... (3) 'in other directions', ch. 25, ἄλλα ἄλλῃ ἀγινέοντας. Hence, (4) 'to other places', as here, and I. 1, τῇ τε ἄλλῃ ἐσαπικνέεσθαι καὶ δὴ καὶ ἐς Ἄργος. Cf. III. 61.

πάντη. An anomalous form, from analogy to the instrumentals κῇ, ὅκῃ, πολλαχῇ, etc.

9. πάγχυ. Att. πάνυ, 'He fully expected'. Cf. I. 31, δοκέων πάγχυ οἶσσεσθαι. III. 157, πάγχυ ἐλπίσαντες.

33 9. στρατηγού. Predicative; 'during the command of'.

10. Ἀρταύκτην. Artayktes, whose end is recounted IX. 116—120, is there described as ἀνὴρ δεινὸς καὶ ἀτάσθαλος. Sestos was taken by the Athenians after Mycale, when the Peloponnesian fleet had retired home.

11. διεπασσάλευσαν. Cf. Ar. Eq. 371, διαπατταλευθήσει χαμαί, where the threat is taken from the notion of stretching out a hide for tanning. δια gives the notion of expansion; cf. Lat. *dierectus*. The subject must be supplied from Ἀθηναίων.

12. Πρωτεσίλεω. Protesilaus of Thessaly, the first of the Greeks to set foot on Trojan soil, was immediately slain by Hector, according to prophecy, II. II. 695 seqq. The subject is treated by Wordsworth in his *Laodamia*.

34 1. ὀρμεόμενοι. Cf. ch. 22 note.

2. τοῖσι προσεκέετο, sc. γεφυρῶσαι. Cf. ch. 36, where the antecedent is expressed.

τὴν μὲν, sc. γέφυραν, supplied from ἐγεφύρου. Cf. Aesch. Pers. 68, λινόδεσμος σχεδία.

4. ἔστι δὲ ἑπτὰ στάδιοι. Cf. I. 26, ἔστι δὲ μεταξύ τῆς τε πόλιος κ. τοῦ νηοῦ ἑπτὰ στάδιοι. This constr. of a singular verb with a pl. subject (not neuter) is known as the ‘schema Pindaricum’, though rare in Pindar; it is usually found where (as here) the subject follows. Cf. Pl. Euthyd. 302 c, ἔστι γὰρ ἔμοιγε καὶ βωμοί....Pind. P. x. 71, ἐν δ’ ἀγαθοῖσι κεῖται πατρῷαι κεδναὶ πολλίων κυβερνάσιες. Eur. Ion 1146, ἐνῆν δ’ ὕφανται γράμμασιν τοιαῖδ’ ὕφαί. Hdt. often uses a different constr. in expressing measurements, making the verb agree with a predicate in the pl., when the subj. is sing. Cf. I. 93, ἡ μὲν περιόδος εἰσι στάδιοι ἕξ καὶ δύο πλέθρα. III. 60, τὸ μῆκος ἑπτὰ στάδιοι εἰσι. IV. 85 etc.

6. ἐπιγενόμενος. Frequently of sudden action, especially of some natural phenomenon; cf. VIII. 13, πλώουσι αὐτοῖσι χειμῶν τε κ. τὸ ὕδωρ ἐπεγίνετο.

ἐκεῖνα πάντα. ‘The whole work.’

3. ἐπικέσθαι: cf. ch. 9 (4) n. This verb (to reach, attain 35 to) usually takes a gen.; here, however, ἐπικέσθαι μάστιγι = to visit with the scourge, i.e. to scourge; hence an acc. of the direct object follows, together with a cognate acc. πληγὰς. In the similar usage, Soph. O. T. 809, μέσον κᾶρα διπλοῖς κέντροισί μου καθίκετο, the retention of the gen. gives greater vividness and vehemence. The acc. there is of the ‘part affected’ (Jebb).

Blakesley, on the contrary, takes πληγὰς as subject to ἐπικέσθαι: in this case, μάστιγι would be an instrumental closely joined with πληγὰς, like Pindar’s ἄρματι νίκαν, ‘victory won by a chariot’, P. VII. 17.

5. ἤδη δὲ ἤκουσα, cf. ch. 55 (15) n. ‘Nay, I have even heard’ (R.). ἤδη seems here to have the meaning of ‘nay more’ or ‘actually’, introducing a climax: the use of *etiam* (primarily, ‘even now’) for ‘further’ or ‘even’ is parallel. Cf. II. 148, ἐποίησαντο λαβύρινθον τὸν ἐγὼ ἤδη ἴδον λόγου μέγῳ (which I saw with my own eyes and know to be beyond description); II. 175, ἤδη δέ τινες λέγουσι ὥς.... (some go so far as to assert that); IV. 77, καὶ τοι τινὰ ἤδη ἤκουσα λόγον ἄλλον (a story which Hdt. subsequently admits to be improbable). For the simpler meaning of ἤδη, marking a *fresh step*, from which this is derived, cf. ch. 184 n.



στιγέας. Cf. Juv. x. 183,

*Mitius id sane, quod non et stigmatē dignum  
Credidit.*

7. δὴ ὦν. Similar to, but rather stronger than δ' ὦν, for which see ch. 9 (45) n.

βάρβαρά τε καὶ ἀτάσθαλα. Reckless insolence and contempt of things divine was the sin hateful above all others to the Greek mind.

11. ἦν τε... ἦν τε μή. Cf. ch. 8 (8) n.

13. ποταμῷ. "The Hellespont, perfectly landlocked, and with a stream running some three knots an hour, presents to a person who is sailing on it altogether the appearance of a 'river;' and it is from this notion of it that the epithets πλατὺς, ἀπείρων are applied to it in the Homeric poems." B.

The account of Xerxes' punishment of the Hellespont has been discredited by many. Blakesley believes that the story arose from a too literal interpretation of Aeschylus' language, Persae 745, seqq.

ὅστις Ἑλλήσποντον ἱρὸν, δοῦλον ὥς, δεσμώμασιν  
ἤλπισε σχήσειν ῥέοντα, Βόσπορον ῥόον θεοῦ,  
καὶ πόρον μετερρύθμιζε, καὶ πέδαις σφυρηλάτοις  
περιβαλὼν πολλὴν κέλευθον ἤνυσεν πολλῷ στρατῷ  
θνητὸς ὦν, θεῶν δὲ πάντων ᾤετ' οὐκ εὐβουλία  
καὶ Ποσειδῶνος κρατήσειν· πῶς τὰδ' οὐ νόσος φρενῶν;

There seems, however, to be no sufficient reason for disbelieving the account of Hdt. Such childishness, as Grote shows (ch. 38), was quite in keeping with the spirit of the times. Cf. with this passage i. 189, where Cyrus punishes the river Gyndes by dividing it into 360 channels! Plutarch (De Ira Coerc. 455) tells us that Xerxes also wrote a threatening letter to Mount Athos, and Juvenal supposes him to have extended his vengeance to the winds, x. 180,

*In Corum atque Eurum solitus saevire flagellis.*

14. τῶν ἐπεστέων, 'of the overseers'; probably Persians of high rank, as in the case of the canal, ch. 22.

36 2. ἡ ἄχαρις τιμή. τιμή, 'office', but not without an idea of honour (cf. Lat. honores): cf. χάρις ἄχαρις, so frequent in the tragedians, Aesch. P.V. 545; Ag. 1545; Eur. I. T. 565.

For the meaning of ἄχαρις, cf. ch. 190 note.

τὰς δὲ, sc. γεφύρας, cf. ch. 34 (2).

4. πεντηκοντέρους κ. τριήρας. The penteconter was a smaller and more old-fashioned ship than the trireme, having only one bank of 25 oars on each side. Penteconters were introduced by the Phocaeans, about the time of Cyrus (i. 163). Triremes were first built at Corinth, and were not largely used even by the Coreyreans and Sicilian tyrants, who then owned the largest fleets, till shortly before this time. Thucyd. i. 13, 14.

συνθέντες, explaining ὧδε. Cf. v. 16, οἰκεῦσι δὲ τοιοῦτον τρόπον—κρατέων ἕκαστος. Infra ch. 127, ἐπέσχε χώρην τοσήνδε—ἀρξάμενος.

ὑπὸ μὲν τὴν πρὸς τοῦ Εὐξείνου, ‘to support the bridge on the side of the Euxine Sea’ (R.). As Grote observes (ch. 38), the ships acted as the supports or piles of the bridge, which was built on the top of them, so as to form a continuous way.

Two bridges were thrown across the Hellespont, one being used for the transit of the army itself, the other for that of the sumpter beasts and camp-followers (ch. 55). The breadth of the channel may have differed at the different points; this would account for the larger number of ships in the bridge on the Euxine side: it is also possible that they had here to be moored nearer together, in order to resist the full force of the current flowing from the Euxine. Whether or not both kinds of ships were used for both bridges, we have no means of knowing. The whole passage is difficult, and indeed none of the explanations given can be considered quite convincing. That of Grote is the simpler, and therefore in some degree preferable, though Blakesley’s gives perhaps the better sense, when well considered. See below.

7. τοῦ μὲν...ρόον. The chief difficulty here is the expression τοῦ Πόντου ἐπικαρσίας, which has been variously explained:—

(1) According to Grote (followed by R.), ‘the course of the Bosphorus and Hellespont, flowing out of the Euxine sea, is conceived by the historian as meeting that sea at right angles’:

thus the ships also, each of which was moored facing down stream, would lie at right angles to the Euxine.

(2) B.'s view: 'at an angle to the sea, but in the line of the stream of the Hellespont'. 'Owing to the shape of the channel, the set of the current is not in the line of water, but oblique from one shore to the other': accordingly the ships, each of which followed the exact direction of the current, would not lie parallel, but at an angle to 'the apparent line of the shore of the Propontis'.

For the meaning of *ἐπικαρσίας*, 'cross', esp. 'at an angle to' (usually a right angle), cf. i. 180, the description of Babylon, which lies in a perfect square, and is divided into two rectangles by the river Euphrates: τὸ δὲ ἄστυ κατατέμνεται τὰς ὁδοὺς *ιθέας* τὰς τε ἄλλας καὶ τὰς *ἐπικαρσίας* τὰς ἐπὶ τὸν ποταμὸν ἐχούσας, i.e. all its streets are cut in straight lines, the cross ones leading to the river, as well as the rest (i.e. those parallel to it). There is no contrast here, as some suppose, between *ιθέας* and *ἐπικαρσίας*, the cross streets being themselves straight.

Cf. also iv. 101, where, in the account of Scythia, also supposed to form a square, τὰ *ἐπικάρσια* means the coast line, as opposed to τὰ ὄρθια, τὰ ἐς μεσόγαιαν φέροντα, to which these are at right angles.

The Gen. τοῦ Πόντου is a loose Gen. of connexion ('as regards the P.'), partly due to the antithetical τοῦ Ἑλλησπόντου.

8. ἵνα... ὄπλων, 'in order to hold fast the tension of the cables'. The current would tend to bear the ships down toward the Aegean, and thus the cables passing across them would be kept tightly stretched.

*ἀνακωχεῖν* (Att. ἀνοκ-), lit. to hold back, is used of ships kept at anchor, infra ch. 100, 168, and of reining in a pair of horses, Soph. El. 732; hence metaphorically of a person, ix. 13, ἀνεκώχευε (sc. ἐωυτὸν) θέλων εἰδέναι ὁκοῖόν τι ποιήσουσι. Cf. ἀνοκωχή, truce, restraining of hostilities.

The subject of *ἀνακωχέη* is not expressed, and must be supplied from *συνθέντες*, i.e. ἡ συνθέσις, or some such word. Others prefer to take ὁ ῥόος as the subject, but the *ἀνακωχή* is produced by the whole arrangement; the stream itself does not directly influence the cables. Cf. the beginning of this chapter, also

ch. 34, where a noun is supplied from a verb ; and for omission of the subject, where the sense is clear, cf. II. 47, VII. 85, IX. 8.

10. τῆς ἐτέρης, sc. γεφύρας. Abl. Gen. after κατήκαν, 'from the one'. Cf. 46 (6) n. Others explain that two anchors were dropped from each ship, and tr. τῆς ἐτέρης, sc. χειρὸς, 'on the other side'.

11. ἔσωθεν, i.e. ἐκ τοῦ Πόντου.

12. τῆς πρὸς ἐσπέρης τε καὶ τοῦ Αἰγαίου. It does not seem necessary to bracket τῆς with Blakesley: there is a slight change of constr. in the second half of the sentence, but such variety is not unfrequent. In the first half, the direction, πρὸς τοῦ Πόντου, is expressed adverbially, so as to modify κατήκαν. In the second half, πρὸς ἐσπέρης τε καὶ τοῦ Αἰγαίου is adjectival and further specifies τῆς ἐτέρης. εἵνεκεν τῶν ἔσωθεν ἐκπνεόντων in the one case corresponds to εὔρου τε καὶ νότου εἵνεκα in the other.

Stein adopts the conjecture ζεφύρου for εὔρου of the mss., but it is difficult to form an opinion without local knowledge.

One large anchor was dropped from every ship in either bridge, on the Euxine side to guard against the winds from that quarter, on the Aegean side for security against the S. and S.E. winds.

13. διέκπλοος. Predic.: lit. 'a sailing out through', hence a passage through which to sail: similarly ὑπόφανσις, lit. a glimpse, comes to mean a narrow opening, 'a gap in the pentecosters'. The openings were probably left at points where the current was weak and the smaller ships were therefore used.

14. καὶ τριχοῦ, 'in no fewer than three places' (R.). St. reads καὶ τριηρέων.

17. κατέτεινον ἐκ γῆς, 'stretched from the shore'. Cf. the common δεῖν ἐκ τινος, to fasten to something.

ὄνοισι ξυλίνοισι, instrumental, with στρεβλοῦντες.

21. καλλονή, 'quality'.

κατὰ λόγον, 'in proportion'.

25. κόσμῳ. Hdt. also uses the acc. VIII. 117, and σὺν κόσμῳ, VIII. 86.

τῶν ὀπλων τοῦ τόνου, i.e. τῶν ἐντεταμένων ὀπλων.

31. ὑπερορῶντα. Almost always in a metaphorical sense.



37 2. τὰ περὶ τὸν Ἄθων. Expl. by οἱ τε χυτοὶ and αὐτὴ ἡ διώρυξ.

χυτοί. 'Breakwaters', to prevent the mouths of the canal being filled up with sand and shingle. χῶμα is the more usual word.

3. ῥήχίς, here, 'surf'; in ch. 198, of the flow of the tide.

6. πεποιημένη ἡγγέλλετο. Attracted to go with the word in apposition instead of with the original subject. For the partic. cf. II. 121, ἀπηγγέλθη ὁ νέκυς ἐκκεκλεμμένος, 23 (10) n.

8. ὠρμάτο. Cf. ch. 22 n. ὄρμ. οἱ dat. of person indirectly interested.

9. τήν...ξδρην. A form of 'pregnant constr.' (i.e. in which two ideas are combined, as here those of motion and rest). The idea of motion in ἐκλιπὼν causes ἐκ τοῦ οὐρ. to be substituted for the natural ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ. Cf. ch. 38, τὸ ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ φάσμα, and 239, ἐς τὸ χρηστήριον τὸ ἐς Δελφούς. οἱ ἐκ Θρηίκης, ch. 106 etc.

It has been ascertained that no such eclipse was visible at this time in West Asia. It is possible that the annular eclipse of 478, visible at Sardis, was, in the minds of the Persians, associated with the disastrous expedition of Xerxes, and afterwards, through carelessness of statement, described as a premonitory sign.

10. αἰθρίης τε, sc. εὐούσης. For οὔτε—τε, see ch. 8 n.

12. μαθόντι, having remarked, taken it in. Cf. ch. 46, and 188, αὐξόμενον ἔμαθον τὸν ἄνεμον.

ἐπιμελὲς ἐγένετο. So I. 89, v. 12 etc.

13. τοὺς μάγους. The Magi were one of the Median tribes, I. 101. Among them divination and soothsaying were hereditary, though not in every member of the tribe, I. 108. On the death of the Persian Cambyses they had regained the sovereignty for the Medes, in the person of the False Smerdis. When Smerdis was slain by Darius, a general slaughter of the Magi had ensued. The race, however, was by no means exterminated. They are constantly mentioned afterwards as performing sacred rites, expounding dreams, omens, etc.

τὸ θέλει. The use of the rel. pron. to introduce an indir. interrog., though rare in other authors, is very common in

Hdt.; cf. ch. 26, 148, vi. 124, and is also found in Homer; cf. Il. ii. 365, γνῶσθ' ἔπειθ' ὅς θ' ἡγεμόνων κακὸς, ὅς τέ νυ λαῶν.

θέλειν, or ἐθέλειν, has, besides the ordinary use (to wish, or be willing), the foll. meanings in Hdt.:—

(1) *To be wont*; cf. viii. 60, οἰκότα βουλευομένοισι...ἐθέλει γίνεσθαι, μὴ δὲ οἰκότα...οὐκ ἐθέλει οὐδὲ ὁ θεὸς προσχωρέειν. Cf. use of φιλέει ὁ θεός, ch. 10; also ch. 50, 157.

(2) A meaning still, in some cases, akin to the original one, to *wish*, or *choose*, but extended in use to impersonal objects, and even events, so that it may generally be transl. 'to happen', although in this, as in any Engl. rendering, much of the quaint simplicity and naïveté of the original is lost. Cf. ii. 11, εἰ ὦν δὴ ἐθελήσει ἐκτρέψαι τὸ ῥέεθρον ὁ Νεῖλος (almost = *If he shall take it into his head*); i. 109, εἰ θελήσει ἐς τὴν θυγατέρα ἀναβῆναι ἡ τυραννίς. Ch. 10, εἰ ἐναντιωθῆναι τι θέλει, and ch. 49.

(3) Joined with εἶναι, λέγειν, etc. it signifies *to mean*, as here. Cf. vi. 37, τὸ θέλει τὸ ἔπος εἶναι.

1. ἐξήλανε τὴν στρατιήν. ἐλαύνειν is used both tr. and 38 intr. in the sense of *marching*; cf. supr. ἐλὼν ἐς Ἀβυδον, and ch. 182 n.

5. ἄν, with βουλοίμην.

6. γενόμενον, 'if granted'.

11. καταλαμβάνει. Very frequent in Hdt. as here, 'be-falls'; but in a good, as well as a bad sense; cf. iii. 139, τοῦτον κατέλαβε εὐτυχίῃ τις, and ch. 155. For other meanings cf. ch. 9 (31) n., and 211, 230.

13. ἡλικίης. Gen. of divided whole, frequently used of place, both metaphorically and literally, as in ch. 33, τῆς Χερσονήσου.

14. μοι. Cf. ch. 16 (3) n.

παράλυσον τῆς στρατηγίας. Cf. ch. 88, vi. 94, Μαρδόνιον παραλύνει τῆς στρατηγίας, and v. 75, παραλυομένου τοῦ ἐτέρου sc. τῆς στρατηγίας. The metaphor is from unyoking an animal.

16. μελεδωνός. See ch. 31 n.

17. καὶ πρήξας...ὀπίσω. Larcher compares the prayer of Chryses, Il. i. 18, 19.

2. ἄνθρωπε, a term of contempt. Cf. viii. 125.

3. ἐτόλμησας, *momentary aor.*: Eng. 'Do you dare?' Cf. ch. 29 (4), 46 (6).

6. πανοικίη. Cf. VIII. 106 etc. Thucyd. uses πανοικησία. Cf. ch. 203, πανστρατίη. I. 60, πανοπλίη. Aesch. Supp. 607, πανδημία. Hom. πανσυδίη or πασσυδίη. An 'Instrumental', expressing accompanying circumstances. So too αὐτῇ γυναικί, lit. with your wife herself, i.e. wife and all.

10. ἀνοιδέει, 'swells with anger'. Cf. III. 76, 127, for the metaphorical use of οἰδέειν, οἰδεόντων τῶν πρηγμάτων.

11. ἕτερα τοιαῦτα, i.e. χρηστά.

13. ἐτράπευ. For tense see ch. 29 (4) n. The metaphor from turning out of the right path is frequent in Greek, esp. in Pindar.

14. λάμψαι. A fut. formed from analogy to the pres., λαμβάνω. So too aor. pass. ἐλάμφθην.

15. τοὺς τέσσερας. See ch. 29 (12) n.

17. ζημιώσσαι. For the Ionic use of Fut. Mid. with Pass. meaning, cf. ch. 159, 162, ἀρξομένους. V. 34, πολιορκησόμενοι. V. 35, ἀπαιρήσεσθαι.

For the story cf. IV. 84, where a similar request on the part of Oeobazus, before the Scythian campaign of Darius, was punished by the execution of all his three sons, after the prayer had been seemingly granted.

ὑπεκρίνατο. In Attic, ὑποκρίνεσθαι is limited to 'answering the chorus on the stage', i.e. acting, and meanings therefrom derived, e.g. to pretend, to exaggerate.

40 4. ἀναμίξ, not separated by intervals; for, as R. points out, the contingents of the several nations formed distinct corps. Cf. ch. 60—86, 210, IX. 32.

5. τῇ δὲ ὑπερημίσεες ἦσαν. 'In the point where the half of the number was turned' (B.).

6. διελέλειπτο. Cf. ch. 29 (4) n. A break had been made, i.e. there was a space.

11. Νισαῖοι καλούμενοι. The Nisaeian plain, which gave its name to this specially fine breed of horses, lies in Media. Cf. III. 106.

12. ἐπὶ τοῦδε. Cf. ch. 83, ἐκάλεοντο Ἀθάνατοι ἐπὶ τοῦδε. So ch. 193, etc.

16. ἄρμα Διός. Διός probably means Ormuzd, the supreme Deity of the Persians, creator of all good, including the lesser gods and spirits of light, as well as the human race. Opposed to Ormuzd and his creatures stood Ahriman, god of darkness and evil, creator of the lesser gods and spirits of darkness, and of all things evil. (Spiegel.)

ἐπετέτακτο. 'Had been posted after', i.e. followed.

21. ἄρματος ἵππων Νισαίων. ἄρμα is used to mean (1) The chariot, Aesch. Pers. 190, ἄρμασιν δ' ὑπο ζεύγνυσιν αὐτώ. (2) The chariot with the horses yoked to it, as here. So Pindar, ἄρμα τέθριππον, frequently. (3) The yoked horses, the team, ἄρμασιν ἐνδίδωσι κέντρον, Eur. H. F. 881. τρίπωλον ἄρμα δαιμόνων, i.e. three goddesses, Andr. 276.

παρεβέβηκε. Had taken up his stand beside him, i.e. stood.

22. Ὀτάνεω. Otanes, a Persian noble of high rank, had been one of the six who, with Darius at their head, overthrew the False Smerdis, III. 68. On surrendering all claims to the throne, Otanes and his house were pronounced by the other six to be free, alone of all the Persians. On state occasions, R. tells us, an attendant also stood in the chariot, to bear the royal parasol.

2. μετεκβαίνεισκε. Notice the force of the prepositions; 41 'he used to get out and change into'. Iterative tenses in -σκον are Ionic, being found in Homer as well as Hdt. Gdw. § 30, 2, N. 1.

ὅκως μιν λόγος αἰρέει. Optative of indefinite frequency, cf. ch. 6 n. Lit. 'whenever reason persuaded him', i.e. whenever he felt inclined, so I. 132, IV. 127. λόγος αἰρᾷ is even more frequently followed by the acc. and infin. meaning, 'reason proves', i.e. 'it stands to reason that', II. 33, III. 45, VI. 124. In II. 43, we find ὥς ἐμὴ γνώμη αἰρᾷ. Cp. Pl. Rep. 604, ὅπη ὁ λόγος αἰρεῖ βέλτιστα ἔχειν.

3. ἐς ἄρμαμαξαν, a four wheeled, closed carriage, with curtains, generally used only by women and children. In one of these Themistocles was secretly conveyed to the Persian court, Plut. Them. xxvi. Paley compares Aesch. Pers. 1000, ἀμφὶ σκηναῖς τροχηλάτοισιν ἐπόμενοι, and Ar. Ach. 68, ἐσκηνημένοι ἐφ' ἄρμαμαξῶν, μαλθακῶς κατακείμενοι.



6. κατὰ νόμον, in the usual manner, i.e. upwards.

ἵππος ἄλλη χιλίη. ἡ κάμηλος is also used collectively, 'the camelry', i. 80.

8. ἀπολελεγμένοι μύριοι. 'The Immortals', cf. ch. 83.

9. οὗτος πρὸς ἦν. Cf. ch. 5, παρενθήκην τήνδε; ch. 22, and 95; also Dem. xix. 409, ταύτην ἡγήσω σωτηρίαν, and Virg. Aen. vi. 129, Hoc opus, hic labor est. Cf. also the extended use of attraction with adjs., e.g. ὁ πολὺς τοῦ βίου, ἡ πολλή τῆς λείας.

10. σαυρωτήρων, spikes, by which the spear could be fixed in the ground; cf. Il. x. 153, ἔγχεα δέ σφιν | ὄρθ' ἐπὶ σαυρωτήρας ἐλήλατο. στύραξ and οὐρίαχος are synonymous with σαυρωτήρ.

14. μῆλα, sc. χρύσεα.

17. καὶ δύο σταδίου, 'as much as two stades'. Acc. of compass.

42 4. Κάνης ὄρος. A promontory, forming the southern point of the bay of Adramyttium (B.).

5. τοῦ Ἀταρνέος. The plain of Atarneus had been given to the Chians, in return for their surrender to the Persians of the rebel Pactyas, i. 160.

Καρίνην. Site unknown.

6. Θήβης. Famous in the Iliad as the home of Andromache and Chryses, Θήβη ὑψίπυλος. Il. vi. 416.

Ἀτραμύττειον. The Adramyttium of Acts xxvii. 2, said to have been founded by and called after the son of a Lydian king. The town was given to the expelled Delians by Pharnaces in 423, Thucyd. v. 1.

7. Ἀντανδρον τὴν Πελασγίδα. Antandro of the present day: inhabited by Aeolians in the time of Thucydides, viii. 108, though called a town of the Leleges by Alcaeus. It is said by Aristotle to have been held by Cimmerians for 100 years, R. vol. i. p. 358.

8. Ἴδην. Ἴδη πολυπίδαξ of the Iliad. Hdt.'s description of the route is not clear, and R. thinks he cannot refer to the real Ida.

10. βρονταί. Peals of thunder.

11. πρηστῆρες. Storms with lightning, not the particular phenomenon described by Lucretius, vi. 423 seqq.

ἐπεσπίπτουσι καὶ διέφθειραν. Cf. ch. 15, viii. 5. Hdt. is

fond of coupling different tenses, in order to make the narrative more graphic. The action of the verb in the past tense is slurred over, while attention is fixed on that in the present. In ch. 15, ἀνὰ—ἔδραμε depicts the instantaneous start, while πέμπει is the more important act on which the narrator dwells.

αὐτοῦ ταύτη. Very frequent in Hdt.

2. δς—πινόμενος. τὸ ῥέεθρ. acc. of respect, lit. ‘as to its 43 stream’. πινόμενος with both the verbs. Cf. ch. 21, also ch. 58, οὐκ ἀντισχόντα τότε τῇ στρατιῇ τὸ ῥέεθρον ἀλλ’ ἐπιλείποντα, and 196, μῦνος οὐκ ἀπέχρησε τῇ στρατιῇ τὸ ῥέεθρον πινόμενος. Also without acc., ch. 127, 108.

If it were not for the examples cited, we might be tempted to take ῥέεθρ. as direct object of ἐπέλιπε, translating ‘channel’ as in ch. 130, and comparing II. 25, τῶν δμβρων ἐπιλείποντων αὐτοῦς, i.e. τ. ποταμούς.

5. ἀποχρᾶν (with which cf. ἀντιχρᾶν, ἐκχρᾶν) is also used impersonally, both in the Active, ch. 148, VIII. 130, and Middle, VIII. 14.

The stream of the Scamander is reduced to about three feet of water in the dry season, and this was no doubt soon fouled by the animals’ feet.

6. δῆ, marks the *epanalepsis*, i.e. ‘taking up again’ of the thread of the sentence. ὡς ἀπικ. Ξέρξης is a repetition of ἀπικομένου τ. στρ., characteristic of the easy natural style of Hdt.

7. τὸ Πέργαμον. Πέργαμος is fem. in Homer; the tragedians use the neuter pl. Πέργαμα.

9. ἐκέγων ἕκαστα. The several details. Cf. ἐκεῖνα πάντα, ch. 34 (6).

τῇ Ἀθηναίῃ. Alexander likewise sacrificed to the Ilian Athene. Such an act seems strange in Xerxes, on his way to outrage the gods of Greece and burn their temples; but consistency was not one of his characteristics, and indeed irreligion and superstition are not unfrequently united in the same person.

11. φόβος...ἐνέπεσε. Cf. ch. 10, ἐπεάν σφι ὁ θεὸς φθονήσας φόβον ἐμβάλλῃ ἢ βροντήν. Also IV. 203, τοῖσι δὲ Πέρσῃσι οὐδενὸς μαχομένου φόβος ἐνέπεσε.

13. 'Ροίτειον, 'Οφρύνειον, Δάρδανος. "Places of small importance, on or near the coast" (R.).

15. Γέργιθας Τευκρούς, called in v. 122, 'the remnant of the ancient Teucrians'.

44 4. προξέδρη. In iv. 88 we hear that a picture was painted of Darius on a throne of state, watching his troops cross the Bosphorus, in the Scythian expedition.

7. ἰμέρθη. Not found in good Attic prose.

46 1. μαθών is repeated in φρασθεῖς. Cf. ch. 37 (12). See ch. 43 (6) n.

6. ἀλλήλων. Ablative-Genitive, 'from each other'. Cf. ch. 36 (10). The Gen. in Greek is, like the Dat., a 'syncretic' case, i.e. it is used to express the meanings proper to two separate cases, the Gen. and Abl.

ἐργάσαιο...πρότερον. Cf. Ar. Av. 24, οὐ ταῦτ' ἀκρώσει νῦν τε καὶ τότε. ἐργάσαιο is a *momentary aorist*.

7. μακαρίσας γάρ. This 'exegetical γάρ' is untranslatable in English; the γάρ below, so frequent in dialogue, implies the ellipse of *yes*, or a concession of some sort.

8. ἐσῆλθέ με κατοικτεῖραι. So VIII. 137; also with the dat. i. 86, III. 14. ἐσιέναι is used in the same way.

λογισάμενον, with ὥς εἴη.

10. εἰ—γε, 'since'; hence, the clause being stated as a fact, not a supposition, οὐδεὶς not μηδεὶς follows.

οὐ is regularly found after εἰ in the following cases:

(1) Where εἰ is interrogative (= 'whether').

(a) in single interrogations, e.g. i. 90, εἰρωτᾶν εἰ οὐ τι ἐπαισχύνεται.

(b) in double interrog., e.g. iv. 127, γνώσεσθε εἴτε ὑμῶν μαχεσόμεθα εἴτε καὶ οὐ μαχεσ. Ch. 16, εἰ ἐμὲ μὲν οὐ—σὲ δὲ ἐπιφοιτήσῃ.

(2) Where εἰ is causal, as here (=since).

(3) Where οὐ is closely joined to another word, with which it forms one idea, e.g. ch. 10 (91) εἰ—οὐκ ἐθελήσεις. vi. 9, εἰ—οὐ ποιήσουσι. So Pl. Apol. 25 B, εἰάν τε οὐ φῆτε εἰάν τε φῆτε.

(4) When two or more clauses in the indicative, introduced by μὲν and δέ, depend upon a single εἰ preceding, they have

their separate constructions independently of the *εἰ*, which affects them only as a whole, and *οὐ* is almost invariably found: e.g. ch. 9, *δεινὸν ἂν εἴη πρῆγμα εἰ Σάκας μὲν... ἄλλα τε ἔθνεα... ἀδικήσαντα οὐδὲν... δούλους ἔχομεν*, "Ἕλληνας δὲ οὐ τιμωρησόμεθα." Shilleto on Thucyd. i. 121. Dem. xv. 197, 9. Gdw. § 47, 3 N. N.B. Where the optat. is used, *μῆ* is found.

12. *τούτου*, with *οἰκτρότερα*.

*παρὰ τὴν ζῴην*. Cf. ii. 121, *παρὰ τὴν πόσιν*. Pl. Legg. 733 A, *παρὰ τὸν βίον ἅπαντα*.

*πεπόνθαμεν*. *πεπονθέναι*, lit. 'to have experienced', often signifies to *have* a feeling, quality, liability or characteristic; cf. i. 148, *πεπόνθασι αἱ Ἰώνων ὀρταὶ τοῦτο*, and Ar. Eq. 187, *ὅσον πέπονθας ἀγαθὸν ἐς τὰ πράγματα*, 'what an advantage you have for a political life!'

13. *οὐδεὶς οὕτω... εὐδαίμων τῷ*. *ὥς* or *ὥστε* are frequently replaced by the rel. pron. in Hdt. For order cf. viii. 15, *νέας οὕτω σφι ὀλίγας λυμαίνεσθαι*. ix. 45, *οὕτω ἔργον παράβολον*, also *infra* ch. 143.

15. *παραστήσεται*, 'it will occur'; cf. Thucyd. iv. 95, *ταῦτα παραστῇ δὲ μηδενὶ ὑμῶν ὥς...* Dem. iii. 28, *οὐχὶ παρίσταται μοι γινώσκειν*.

*καὶ οὐκ ἅπαξ*. 'Ay, not once only.'

21. *γέγονέ*, 'proves'.

22. *ἐν αὐτῷ*, 'herein'. Cf. ch. 8 (42), 50 (11), *ἐν αὐτοῖσι*. In *γλυκὺν γεύσας τ. αἰῶνα* the emphasis lies on the adj., 'by giving a taste of sweetness, sufficient only to cause regret'. Cf. Heb. vi. 5, *καλὸν γευσσάμενους θεοῦ ῥῆμα*. For the sentiment, cf. Solon's speech to Croesus, i. 32, *πολλοῖσι γὰρ δὴ ὑποδέξας ὄλβον ὁ θεὸς προορίζους ἀνέτρεψε* (*ὑποδέξας*, 'having given a glimpse of'); also the letter of Amasis to Polycrates, iii. 40, and the previous words of Artabanus himself, ch. 10. The whole work of Hdt. is pervaded by an idea of divine *φθόνος*, bringing ruin not only on the impious (as Xerxes), and their descendants (cf. vii. 137), but also on the notably prosperous (as Polycrates), those predestined by fate (as Candaules, i. 8), and any who unwittingly contravene their destiny (as Mucelinus of Egypt, ii. 133). See R. vol. i. p. 91.



47 5. *μηδὲ κακῶν...χερσί.* This dread of ill-omened speech was essentially characteristic of the Greeks, though here, as in many other instances, Hdt. puts a Greek sentiment in the mouth of a foreigner. Cf. ch. 51, 53.

10. *ἀτρεκέως.* A favourite word of Hdt.; cf. ch. 10 (78), viii. 8. The original meaning of *ἀτρεκής* seems to be 'without turning', 'unflinching', cogn. w. *τρέπω*. Cf. Pind. N. iii. 41, *ἀτρεκέϊ ποδί*. v. 17, *φαίνοισα πρόσωπον ἀλάθει' ἀτρεκής*. Hence the meaning of confidence, certainty, exactitude. •

48 1. *δαιμόνιε ἀνδρῶν.* ὦ δαιμόνιε implies surprise mingled with vexation, scorn, or pity, as the case may be; cf. iv. 126, viii. 84. In the Iliad and Odyssey it is used in every variety of reproof; by angry Odysseus to the fleeing Greeks (Il. ii. 200), by contemptuous Diomed to Agamemnon (ix. 40), by Andromache in tender remonstrance to Hector (vi. 407). Cf. too the use in Aristophanes; e.g. Av. 1638, ὦ δαιμόνι' ἀνθρώπων, Πόσειδον, ποῖ φέρει;

In Pl. also the sense varies with the speaker's feelings, whose surprise is sometimes roused not by the person addressed so much as by some step in the argument. See Prof. Campbell, Theaet. App. E.

2. *κοῖα.* Incredulous.

5. *τοῦ ἡμετέρου.* Gen. of comparison; so infra, τοῦ ἐκείνων.

6. *λείψεσθαι.* Cf. ch. 8 n.

9. *τὴν ταχίστην*, sc. *ὁδόν*. Cf. ch. 62 (1) n.

ἄν τις ποιῶτο. The Greeks use an active constr. with *τις* in cases where the subject is not clearly conceived; in English the passive would be found, the agent not expressed. 'Another army could be raised.' In viii. 109 *τις* (= *ἡμεῖς*) simply lightens and varies the constr.; cf. ix. 45, *μνησθῆναι τινα χρῆ καὶ ἐμεῦ*, where *τινα* is more delicate and less direct than *ὑμέας*. Cf. also infr. ch. 102, 237. In Soph. Ant. 751, *θανοῦσ' ὀλεῖ τινὰ*, *τινὰ* is purposely obscure; for Haemon, while seeming to threaten, really refers to his own death. In Ar. the word is often used ironically, in threats, etc. for *σύ*. Cf. Ran. 554, *δώσει τις δίκην*, also Soph. Aj. 1138.

49 2. *στρατὸν τοῦτον*, cf. ch. 130, n. on *ποταμῷ τούτῳ*.

ὅστις γε...ἔχει = εἴ τις...ἔχει. Cf. Gdw. § 61, 4.

9. φερέγγυος, lit. 'giving (i.e. able to give) surety', hence trustworthy, capable.

10. ἓνα αὐτὸν, i.q. ἓνα μόνον. Cf. v. 85, ἐκ πάντων ἓνα λειφθέντα ἀνακομισθῆναι αὐτὸν ἐς Φάληρον, and infra ch. 130, ἥδε αὐτῇ, this only.

12. οὐκ ὦν δὴ, 'supposing then that—not'. Cf. 10 (29) n.

13. αἱ συμφοραὶ...ἄρχουσι. Cf. i. 32, πᾶν ἐστὶν ἄνθρωπος συμφορῇ, the words of Solon to Croesus.

15. τῶν δύο. δυῶν is also found, iii. 131, and δυοῖσι, ch. 104. For καὶ δὴ cf. ch. 186 n.

16. ἔρχομαι ἐρέων. Cf. ch. 102, ἔρχομαι λέξων, always referring to what immediately follows. I come about to tell of, 'I am here on the point of relating'.

γῇ δὲ πολεμίῃ κ.τ.λ. Cf. Aesch. Pers. 792, αὐτῇ γὰρ ἡ γῇ ζύμματος κείνοις πέλει...κτείνουσα λιμῶ τοὺς ὑπερπόλλους ἄγαν.

17. εἰ ἐθέλει, 'if it happens that'. Cf. ch. 37 (13) n.

19. τὸ πρόσω αἰεὶ κλεπτόμενος, 'lured blindly further and further'. The Voice is probably Middle. Xerxes will deceive himself into the foolhardiness of advancing further and further from his supplies. For this meaning of κλέπτειν cf. Pl. Rep. 413 B, κλαπέντες ἢ βιασθέντες ἢ γοητευθέντες, where, however, the Voice is, of course, Pass.; Ar. Rhet. iii. 7, 5.

20. εὐπρηξίης...πληθώρῃ, cf. Aesch. Ag. 1331, τὸ μὲν εὖ πράσσειν ἀκόρεστον ἔφυ | πᾶσι βροτοῖσιν.

22. τὴν χώραν, 'the distance', i.e. between the army and Asia, or the stores.

23. εἰ βουλευόμενος...εἴη. A similar axiom is expressed by Hermocrates, Thucyd. vi. 34, whose counsel is: τὸ μὲν καταφρονεῖν τοὺς ἐπιόντας ἐν τῶν ἔργων τῇ ἀλκῇ δεικνυσθαι, τὸ δ' ἡδὴ τὰς μετὰ φόβου παρασκευὰς ἀσφαλεστάτας (νομίζειν).

5. ἐπὶ τῷ αἰεὶ ἐπεσφ. Cf. ch. 23 (6) n. In the partic. 50 ἐπὶ expresses *succession*, 'each *fresh* matter that comes before you'. Cf. ch. 2 (11).

6. τὸ πᾶν ὁμοίως ἐπιλέγεσθαι, 'to calculate all chances equally', i.e. to give equal weight to every possibility, in your deliberations.

7. κρέσσον δὲ...μᾶλλον ἢ. Cf. ch. 143, αἰρετώτερα—μᾶλλον

ἡ. ix. 7, κερδαλεώτερον...μᾶλλον ἥπερ. Pleonasms are frequent in Hdt., due partly to his love of clearness, partly to the colloquial flow of his narrative. On the other hand, however, μᾶλλον is sometimes omitted before ἡ, even when there is no comparative. Cf. iii. 40, βούλομαι οὕτω διαφέρειν...ἡ εὐτυχέειν. iv. 26, ἡμέας δίκαιον ἔχειν...ἡπερ' Ἀθηναίους.

9. μηδαμά. Adv. neut. pl. fr. μηδαμός. Cf. ch. 83 (8) n.

10. τὸ βέβαιον, the one safe and reasonable course.

11. ἐν αὐτοῖσι, i.e. ἃ λέγεις ἐρίζων, i.q. τούτοισι. Cf. ch. 8.

12. ἐπ' ἴσης, sc. ἐπ' ἴσης μοίρης or τύχης. Cf. ch. 135, ἐξ ἴσου.

The sense is: If you cannot point out the one infallible course, as I believe you cannot, your own criticisms are no less liable to error than the counsels which you decry.

15. ὥς τὸ ἐπίπαν (cf. ch. 157, and viii. 60 § 3), rather stronger than ὥς ἐπὶ τὸ πολὺ.

17. οὐ μάλα, a modified form of οὐ, 'not—on the whole'. Cf. i. 93.

21. ἄλλους συμβούλους εἶχον, *not* 'had other councillors', but 'others, councillors', i.e. 'had been counselled by others'. Cf. Soph. O. T. 7, δικαίων μὴ παρ' ἀγγέλων...ἄλλων ἀκούειν (others, messengers). This use of ἄλλος is very idiomatic, and common in enumerations; cf. Ph. 38, ἄλλα ῥάκη (rags beside); Xen. An. i. 5, οὐ...χόρτος οὐδὲ ἄλλο δένδρον (nor yet tree); also ch. 164, and 16 (35) n.

τοιούτους, cf. ch. 29.

22. νῦν δέ, 'as it is'; cf. ch. 139.

23. κινδύνους ἀναρριπτόντες. Cf. ch. 10 (84) n.; Thucyd. iv. 85, vi. 13.

24. μεγάλα γὰρ πρήγματα...καταιρέεσθαι, 'mighty powers must be won by mighty ventures'; cf. viii. 82, τοῖσι τὸν βάρβαρον κατελοῦσι, and iv. 137, τῆς Δαρείου δυνάμιος κατααιρεθείσης etc. The meaning *conquer* passes here into *win*, or *acquire*.

25. ὁμοιεύμενοι. We follow their example in making the expedition, *not* in making it at a certain season.

26. ὥρην τοῦ ἔτους καλλίστην, 'during the fairest season of the year'. ὥρη (cogn. with *year*) has in Hdt. the senses of 'fit time' (viii. 19), 'time of day' (viii. 14), 'time of year' or season (here and viii. 12), 'quarter of the heavens' (ii. 26). In the

restricted sense of *hour* it is never found, 'the 12 hours of the day' being expressed by 'τὰ δωδέκα μέρεα τῆς ἡμέρης' (II. 109).

29. ἄχαρι. Cf. ch. 190 n.

30. τοῦτο μὲν. Cf. ch. 6 n.

31. ἐπιβέωμεν...ἔθνος. ἐπιβαίνω, usually foll. by a *gen.* of the place, is found with an *acc.* of place, II. xiv. 226; of person, Soph. Aj. 137. The word is remarkable for its wide metaphorical use with abstract nouns, meaning 'to indulge in', 'keep to', etc.: e.g. ἐπ' ἀναιδείης, Od. xxii. 424. εὐφροσύνης, xxiii. 52. εὐσεβίας, Soph. O. C. 189. δόξης, Ph. 1463.

32. ἐπ' ἄροτῆρας...οὐ νομάδας, in contrast to the Scythians. Cf. iv. 97, ἐπὶ γῆν γὰρ μέλλεις στρατεύεσθαι τῆς οὔτε ἀρηρομένου φανήσεται οὐδὲν οὔτε πόλις οἰκεομένη.

3. σὺ δέ. For 'δὲ in apodosis' (esp. common with a pers. 51 or demonstr. pron.), i.e. δὲ introducing the second and *principal* clause of a sentence, and thus giving special emphasis to it, cf. chs. 103, 159, 188. The constr. is common in Homer and Hdt. but comparatively rare in Attic prose.

4. πλεῖνα λόγον ἐκτείνειν. Cf. μείζον' ἔκτενῶ λόγον, Soph. Tr. 679; μῆκος ἔκτεινον λόγου, Aesch. Eum. 201.

6. κατεστρέψατο...εἶναι. Infinitive expressing result. In Attic we should expect ὥστε, or else the omission of the Infin. Cf. v. 103, Καρίης τὴν πολλὴν προσεκτήσαντο σφίσι σύμμαχον εἶναι. Cf. similar infinitive, expressing purpose, ch. 154, ἀπεδέχθη εἶναι ἱππαρχος. In these cases the distinction between purpose and result is exceedingly slight. Cf. Gdw. § 97, N. 2 and 3.

8. ἐπὶ τοὺς πατέρας. Cf. viii. 22, the argument of Themistocles. For the sentiment cf. ch. 47 note.

15. δηλήσασθαι. Not found in Attic prose.

16. ἐς θυμὸν ὦν βαλεῖν. Cf. Od. xii. 218, ἀλλ' ἐνὶ θυμῷ βάλλειν.

17. πᾶν, 'in every case'.

4. τῶν ἔχομεν...τῶν σύ. The second τῶν depends on γνῶμα 52 ('of which facts'). Stein compares II. 51, ἱρόν τινα λόγον—τὰ δεδήλωται. Cf. also ch. 16, αἱ δψιες...τά.

γνῶμα, 'token', 'test', 'proof'. Substantives in -μα express the result of the action of the cognate verb, those in -σις the action itself. γνῶμα is that which is known or recognised, the



token; γνῶσις 'finding out', recognition. Cf. πρᾶγμα and πράξις, ποίημα and ποίησις, ῥῆμα and ῥήσις etc.

7. διαφθεῖραι κ. περιποιῆσαι, 'for saving or destroying'. In this construction we see clearly the original meaning of the Infinitive, a Dat., expressing tendency.

Notice the καὶ where we should use 'or': cf. ch. 8 (8) n. and Thucyd. II. 35, ἐν ἐνὶ ἀνδρὶ κινδυνεύεσθαι εὖ τε καὶ χεῖρον εἰπόντι.

8. ἐνέδωκαν. Cf. III. 51, Περικλῆς μαλακὸν ἐνδιδόναι βουλόμενος οὐδέν.

11. χρή. The word is here used in its special sense, to express *natural fitness*, rather than actual *duty* or *necessity*, (δεῖ). Cf. ch. 9 (30) fol., where both δεῖ and χρή are used: the former, of the political necessity for war; the latter, of the natural prompting of kinship. See also ch. 50 (13), where χρή expresses the natural capacity of man, ἀνθρωπον ἐόντα κῶς χρή κ.τ.λ. Again, Aesch. Ag. 1556, θυγάτηρ, ὥς χρή, πατέρ' ἀντιάσασα φιλήσει, of the natural affection of a daughter; ib. 342, πορθεῖν ἃ μὴ χρή, of impiety, transgression of universal laws.

53 2. δεύτερα, i.q. ἔπειτα. Cf. ch. 148.

4. τῶνδ'...χρητίζων. Cf. ch. 38, where the acc. is used. For the double Gen. cf. III. 157, τῶν ἐδέετο σφέων. ἄνδρας...ἄξια explains τῶνδε.

7. ἀλλ', 'nay'. For ἀλλὰ with Imper. cf. ch. 140, and VIII. 79, ἀλλ' ἐσελθὼν σήμερον.

9. ξυνόν. Att. κοινόν. Both forms are used by Hdt.; the former is common in Homer, and is found in Aesch. and Soph. ἀγαθόν. Predicative.

11. ἐντεταμένως. Cf. VIII. 128, ἐντεταμένως προσεῖχε, and συντεταμένως, common in Plato. ἐντετάσθαι, lit. 'to be tightly strung', of a bow or cable, is used metaphorically of the body or mind, like our 'braced up'. For the opposite metaphor 'relaxed', cf. Dem. XIX. 411, ἐκλελύσθαι μοι δοκεῖτε καὶ παθεῖν ἀναμένειν τὰ δεινὰ, and Isocr. 419, ἐκλελυμένως.

γάρ. Cf. ch. 46 (7) n.

13. οὐ μὴ ἀντιστή. A strong future. Gdw. § 86.

15. λελόγγασι. Attic εἰλήχασι. Abicht quotes Dinarch. in Dem. 64, τοὺς θεοὺς οἱ τὴν πόλιν ἡμῶν εἰλήχασι. The phrase

expresses the Greek belief that every deity presided over some special spot: whether this belief was shared by the Persians is a matter of uncertainty.

8. εὔχετο πρὸς τὸν ἥλιον. Mithra, god of the Rising Sun, 54 was one of the most important of the lesser gods of good; he seems to have been sometimes identified with the Sun-god, and sometimes distinguished from him. Cf. ch. 223, where Xerxes pours libations at the moment of sunrise, and III. 84, where the choice of a monarch is fixed for that time. Mithra must not be confused with the goddess 'Mitra' (mentioned I. 131, by an error of Hdt.), who was never worshipped in Persia under that name.

9. παύσει καταστρέφασθαι. This constr. of παύειν with Infin., meaning 'to prevent', is very rare in Att., though found Pl. Rep. 416 c, μήτε τοὺς φύλακας ὡς ἀρίστους εἶναι παύσοι. Distinguish fr. the common constr. with a participle, meaning 'to stop'; cf. v. 23, τὸν ἄνδρα παῦσον ταῦτα ποιεῦντα.

10. πρότερον ἢ γένηται. Cf. ch. 8 (33) n.

13. ἀκινάκην, a short straight dagger. See Rich, Dict. R. G. Antiq. s. v.

14. ἀνατιθείς. ἀνατιθέναι, lit. to set up, erect (in a temple), thence generally, to dedicate, offer; ἀνάθημα, a votive offering. Another common meaning, found in Hdt., is 'to ascribe, impute'; cf. II. 135, μεγάλα οἱ χρήματα ἀν.... The use of ἀνατίθεσθαι, 'to retract', esp. common in Pl., is not found in Hdt.

3. πρὸς τοῦ Πόντου. Ch. 20 (17) n.

55

5. ἡ θεραπῆϊ. 'Abstract for concrete'; cf. Lat. *servitium*, for *servi*.

6. πρῶτα. Cf. δεύτερα ch. 53, οὐδαμὰ 83, ὁμοῖα 118.

οἱ μῦριοι II. The Immortals.

15. ἤδη δὲ ἔκουσα. Cf. ch. 35 n. Hdt. thinks this latter account, if not improbable, at least surprising.

2. ὑπὸ μαστίγων. Cf. ch. 22 (6) n.

56

5. ἐλινύσας. Cf. I. 67, VII. 71. A poetical word meaning 'to take a rest'; cf. Aesch. P. V. 53, 528. It is used by Pindar to express the motionlessness of statues, Nem. v. 2.

7. εἰδόμενος. Also Epic and poetical. Cf. II. xx. 81, τῷ εἰσιδόμενος, and Pind. Nem. x. 15, οἱ δψιν εἰδόμενος.

9. ἀνάστατον. The word means:—

(1) Driven from house and home; cf. ch. 118, ἀνάστατοι ἐκ τῶν οἰκιῶν.

(2) Dispeopled, deserted, of a land forsaken by its inhabitants; cf. ix. 106 (on the proposal of the Peloponnesians to settle the Ionians of Asia Minor in Greece proper), Ἀθηναίοισι οὐκ ἐδόκεε Ἴωνίνην γενέσθαι ἀνάστατον: hence, destroyed in war, overthrown, as here.

(3) In confusion; cf. i. 106, τὰ πάντα σφι ὑπὸ τε ὕβριος καὶ ὀλιγωρίας ἀνάστατα ἦν.

57 6. ἀγαυρότατα. γαῦρος is the commoner form, used of a fiery bull, Hes. Theog. 832; of a frolicsome girl, Theocr. xi. 21, μύσχω γαυροτέρα; expressing buoyancy, exuberance of spirit or pride. In Ar. Ran. 282 it is applied to Heracles.

7. περὶ ἑωυτοῦ τρέχων. Cf. viii. 74, περὶ τοῦ παντὸς ἤδη δρόμον θέοντες. Also ib. 102, 140, and esp. II. xxii. 161, the pursuit of Hector by Achilles:

ἀλλὰ περὶ ψυχῆς θεόν Ἑκτορος ἵπποδάμοιο.

For περὶ τινος, of the prize contested, cf. viii. 26.

58 3. ἔξω τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον πλέων = ἐκπλώσαντες τ. Ἑλ., cf. ch. 29 (4) n.

6. Σαρπηδονίης ἄκρης. Cape Grenea. On starting from Sestus, the fleet and army would move respectively in a S.W. and N.E. direction, though, after gaining Elaeus, the former would sail almost due north for Sarpedon.

τὴν ἀπιξίν ποιούμενος. Hdt., like Thucyd., is fond of the periphrasis with ποιεέσθαι. Cf. below τὴν ὁδὸν, τὴν ἔλασιν (ch. 37), κοῖτον (17), βουλὴν (viii. 40) ποιεέσθαι.

8. πρὸς...ἀνατολάς. So frequently, cf. iv. 40, πρὸς ἡῷ τε καὶ ἡλίον ἀνατέλλοντα, and the Homeric πρὸς ἡῷ τ' ἡέλιον τε.

10. Ἑλλης τάφον. Probably near Pactya; according to one legend, the scene of Helle's death, the more general tradition being that she fell into the Straits. (R.)

15. οὐκ ἀντισχόντα τὸ ῥέεθρον. Cf. ch. 43 (2) n.

59 2. Δορίσκος. A fort of great strength; cf. ch. 106.

5. καὶ ἐν αὐτῷ κ.τ.λ. αὐτῷ instead of a relative in the second clause is regular, because the case is changed; cf. Dem.

III. 35, ἐκείνοι, οἷς οὐκ ἐχαρίζοντο οὐδ' ἐφίλουν αὐτούς. The rule however is not without exceptions; cf. III. 40, τὸ ἂν εὖρης καὶ ἐπ' ᾧ.

8. ἐπιτήδεος—ἐξαριθμῆσαι, 'a suitable spot for reviewing and numbering in'; cf. ch. 52 (7) n.

13. πεπόλισται πόλις. Cf. ch. 108 etc., and II. xx. 216, οὐπω Ἴλιος ἰρή | ἐν πεδίῳ πεπόλιστο.

14. Ζώνη. Famous only as the place where Orpheus' music charmed the trees.

τελευταία δὲ αὐτοῦ. For the adj. replacing an adverbial expression (1) of *place*, cf. Soph. O. T. 1411, θαλάσσιον ἐκρίψατ'. Ant. 786, φοιτᾷς ὑπερπόντιος. (2) of *time*, cf. VIII. 130, πρῶτος. Ch. 196, τριταῖος, and Lat. *matutinus*, *vespertinus* etc.

16. Κικόνων. The land of the Cicones was the first reached by Odysseus on leaving Troy, Od. ix. 39, Ἰλιάθεν με φέρων ἄνεμος Κικόνεσσι πέλασσαν etc., where they are described as a flourishing tribe. Virgil imputes the murder of Orpheus to the Ciconian women, Georg. iv. 520.

κατασχόντες—ἀνεγκύσαντες. Notice the prepositions. To the Greek mind the open sea, as well as the interior, was higher than the shore.

In Att., κατέχειν is commoner without object, in this sense; cf. VIII. 41, and ch. 182 n.

2. ἐς ἀριθμὸν, 'to be numbered'; cf. ch. 97 n.

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4. ἐβδομήκοντα καὶ ἑκατὸν μυριάδες. 1,700,000 was possibly above the real total. As has been commonly remarked, it was in the interest of the Persian leaders and of their monarch to increase their own importance by exaggerating the numbers under their command, διὰ τὸ ἀνθρώπειον κομπῶδες ἐς τὰ οἰκεία πλήθη, cf. Thuc. v. 68; and by the method of counting adopted, a magnified total could easily be obtained, if the men were warned not to crowd too closely into the enclosures; cf. ch. 186 n.

It seems probable that the following detailed description of Xerxes' army, with which the list of Darius' satrapies, III. 90 seqq., should be compared, was derived from the registers made out by the royal scribes, mentioned ch. 100, VIII. 90.



These documents may have fallen into the hands of the Greeks after Plataea.

2. **περὶ τῇσι κεφαλῇσι.** *περὶ* with the dat. is frequently used in describing articles of dress; cf. II. xi. 17, *κνημίδας...περὶ κνήμησιν ἔθηκε.* Xen. Cyr. i. 2, *θώρακα περὶ τοῖς στέρνοις ἔχειν.* Pl. Rep. 359 E, *περὶ τῇ χειρὶ δακτύλιον.*

3. **τιάρας,** usually fem.

4. **κιθῶνας.** The *κιθών* (Att. *χιτών*) being the one indispensable garment worn by all classes alike, it is not surprising that its name should have an extended use, and be applied to warlike equipments, though signifying more properly the soft stuff tunic or doublet, as distinguished from the breast-plate; e.g. ix. 22, *ἐντὸς θώρακα εἶχε χρύσειον λεπιδωτὸν, κατύπερθε δὲ τοῦ θώρακος κιθῶνα φοινίκεον ἐνδεδύκεε.* Cf. the Homeric *χάλκεος χιτῶν* and the use in ch. 139.

6. **ἀναξυρίδες.** Lat. *bracae*. Cf. Persius, iii. 53, *Porticus...bracatis illita Medis.* These garments were also worn by Scythians and Sacans, and in later times by the Gauls.

**ὑπὸ δέ.** The adverbial use of the Prepositions is common in Hdt., as in Homer; cf. *infra* *πρὸς δέ.* Ch. 40, *μετὰ δέ.* Ch. 55, *ἐπὶ δέ* etc.

Schweig. here takes *ὑπὸ* as 'behind', 'at their backs', comparing i. 12, *ὑπὸ τὴν θύρην* (behind the door), but the sense 'below', i.e. under their shields, seems equally good.

10. **παρέιχοντο.** Cf. ch. 62, 121, viii. 2. *παρέχ.* mid. is properly to provide, or, as freq. in Hdt., to have, and shew that one has, with some idea of display. Cf. ch. 161, *Ἀθηναῖοι...ἀρχαιότατον ἔθνος παρεχόμενοι.* viii. 61, *πόλιν παρεχόμενον...οὕτω* (when he could point to his native city, and only then). ii. 174, *Ἀψευδέα μαντήϊα παρεχομένων.* Amestris was notorious for her cruelty, ch. 114.

13. **Ἀρταῖοι.** The meaning apparently is 'the great ones', probably cognate with Arta- in Artaxerxes, Artaphernes, etc.

14. **Περσεύς.** We cannot attempt to explain or reconcile the various legends about Perseus. According to the best known fable, he was son of Zeus and Danae, daughter of Acrisius, king of Argos. See vi. 53. Hdt. tells us that Acrisius was, according to the Greek version, of Egyptian descent. Belus

is generally supposed to have been king of Egypt, and his son Cepheus king of Ethiopia, though Hdt. here appears to regard them as sovereigns of pre-historic Persia. What seems most probable is that the fabled connexion with Persia was derived from the similarity of name. To the mind of Hdt. and to the Greeks generally it was essential that every nation should have an eponymous founder.

1. **τὴν αὐτὴν ταύτην**, sc. **στολήν**. Cf. I. 80, *ἰππάδα στολήν* 62 *ἑσταλμένους*. For similar ellipse cf. ch. 84, *τὴν αὐτὴν ἑσκευασμένοι*. 72, *τὴν αὐτὴν ἔχοντες*. Ch. 48, *τὴν ταχίστην*, and the frequent *τὴν ἐπὶ θανάτῳ* (*κεκοσμημένον*). I. 109 (*ἔδησε*), III. 119, v. 72, where a fem. noun must in each case be supplied from the accompanying verb. These fem. accusatives have, from their frequent occurrence, almost acquired an adverbial force.

2. **Μηδικὴ γάρ**. Cf. I. 135, *ξενικὰ δὲ νόμαια Πέρσαι προσίενται ἀνδρῶν μάλιστα· καὶ γὰρ δὴ τὴν Μηδικὴν ἑσθῆτα, νομίσαντες τῆς ἐωυτῶν εἶναι καλλίω, φορέουσι*.

5. **Ἀριοι**. Medes and Persians alike belonged to the Iranian branch of the great Aryan (or Indo-Germanic) Family, of which Teutons, Kelts, Romans, Greeks etc. are all members. The name Aryan probably meant 'Honourable'. The same root appears in the names *Ariaramnes*, *Ariabazus* etc., as also in Iran or Eran. The connexion with Medea is a mere fable.

8. **Κίσσιοι**. The Cissians and Cassi were the chief of the tribes inhabiting the province of Susiana ('Elam' of the Bible), lying to the S. of Assyria; it was called by their name Cissia.

10. **μιτρηφόροι**. For the *μίτρα*, a kind of turban with folds round the throat and neck, see Rich, Dict. Antiq. It was worn by Greek women, and considered a mark of effeminacy in men by the Romans and Greeks alike. Cf. Virg. Aen. iv. 215:

*Et nunc ille Paris, cum semiviro comitatu,  
Maeonia mentum mitra crinemque madentem  
Subnixus.*

11. **Ἀνάφης ὁ Ὀτάνεω**. Perhaps a brother of Xerxes' charioteer; cf. ch. 40.

**Ὑρκάνιοι**. Also an Aryan tribe, inhabiting the fertile

region round the modern Astarabad. They are never mentioned as an independent race, and at this time formed one Satrapy with the Parthians.

14. ἐπιτροπεύσαντα. With acc. in ch. 78. For meaning cf. ch. 7 n.

63 6. λινέους θώρηκας. Sometimes with as many as 18 folds of linen steeped in a special preparation, and almost impervious. They were introduced into Greece by Iphicrates, instead of mail and chain cuirasses. Probably an Egyptian invention.

8. Σύριοι—'Ασσύριοι. The two names were confused by the Greeks. The Syrians being among the first of the Semitic race to come into contact with the Greeks, their name was used by these to include Cappadocians and Assyrians, besides Syrians proper. Indeed the term Syrian or Assyrian came to signify all settled Semites, as distinguished from Arabians, or wandering tribes of that race. According to Hdt., the Assyrian Empire had lasted for 520 years before the Medes revolted and gained the sovereignty. i. 95.

9. Χαλδαῖοι. The name of a Babylonian tribe, as well as of a priestly caste; cf. the Magi in Persia, and Levites in Israel. Chaldaea meant originally the southern part only of Babylonia, but after a change of dynasty the term was applied to the whole province.

64 1. Βάκτριοι. The Bactrians, a brave and warlike race, were among the troops picked by Mardonius after Salamis, vii. 113; in the wars with Alexander, their descendants played a distinguished part. Locality: modern Balkh.

4. Σάκαι. Sacan was the Iranian, Scythian the Greek name, first for a single Turanian tribe, and hence for the whole family, which includes Turks, Finns, Mongols, etc. (Kiepert). The Sacae, being the westernmost tribe, became subject from time to time to Persia. In after years they settled in Bactria, and from thence conquered and gave their name to Seistan. N.B. According to Ed. Meyer, the Sacans were, on the contrary, nomadic Aryans.

5. κυρβασίας...πεπηγυίας, 'ending in a point' and 'sticking up', opp. to the πέλους ἀπαγέας (ch. 61), soft felt caps worn

by the Persians, of whom the King alone had the right to wear his stiffened to a point; cf. Ar. Av. 486, of the cock,

ἔχων, ... ὥσπερ βασιλεὺς ὁ μέγας διαβάσκει,

ἐπὶ τῆς κεφαλῆς τὴν κυρβάσιαν τῶν ὀρνίθων μόνος ὀρθήν, and Plut. Them. xxix., where Demaratus asks permission 'τὴν κίδαριν, ὥσπερ οἱ βασιλεῖς, ἐπαράμενος εἰσελάσαι διὰ Σαρδεων'. The request was indignantly refused. *τιάρα*, *κυρβάσια* and *κίταρις* appear to be synonymous.

For the phrase *ἐς ὃξὺ ἀπιγμένας*, cf. II. 28, οὔρεα ἐς ὃξὺ τὰς κορυφὰς ἀπιγμένα. For text see Errata. Bähr reads ἀπηγμένας.

8. *σαγάρης*. Double-headed axes, used also by the Amazons, Xen. An. iv. 4. 16.

Ἄμυργίους, with *Σκύθας*. A territorial appellation.

1. Ἰνδοί. The Indians of the Punjâb and lower Indus 65 valley were conquered by Darius, iv. 44.

ἀπὸ ξύλων πεποιημένα, i.e. cotton. Cf. III. 47, θώρηκα λίνεον κεκοσμημένον χρυσῷ καὶ εἰρίοισι ἀπὸ ξύλου, and ib. 106 (of India) τὰ δένδρεα τὰ ἄγρια αὐτόθι φέρει καρπὸν εἴρια... καὶ ἐσθῆτι οἱ Ἰνδοὶ ἀπὸ τούτων τῶν δενδρέων χρέωνται. Hence the cotton tree and cotton were known as *xylon* and *xylina*. Cf. the German Baumwolle.

3. σίδηρον, i.e. iron tips.

1. Ἄριοι. The special name of these Arians must be dis- 66 tinguished from that of the great Aryan family (cf. 62 n.), to which they themselves belonged. Their country was probably the region of Herat.

3. Πάρθοι. This equestrian race, so famous in Roman History, were probably of Scythian origin. They rose to great importance under the Arsacid dynasty, about 250 B.C., and finally ruled over the greater part of Asia. The "Caspian Gates" (see ch. 67) were their boundary towards Media.

Χοράσμιοι. Probably an Aryan tribe, settled S. of the Sea of Aral.

4. Σόγδοι. Sogdiana lay between the Oxus and Jaxartes, in the region of modern Bokhara and Samarcand. The people were partly, but not wholly, Iranian.

Γανδάριοι. Dwelling by the Choaspes S. of the Hindu-Kûsh; their name would seem to survive in Candahar.



**Δαδίκαι.** Probably living near the Gandarii.

7. **Ἀρτάβαζος.** A highly influential Persian; cf. VIII. 126.

67 1. **Κάσπιοι.** A nomadic tribe, living by the Caspian Gates, a narrow pass in the Elburz mountains, to which they seem to have given their name, as also to the Caspian Sea.

5. **Σαράγγαι.** An Aryan tribe of little importance. Locality: modern Seistan.

6. **ἐνέπρεπον.** The simple *πρέπειν* is even more frequently used of dress; cf. Aesch. Cho. 12, *φάρεσι μελαγχίμοις πρέπουσα*. Sept. 124, *πρέποντες δορυσσοῖς σάγαις*. Eur. Alc. 1050, *ἐσθῆτι καὶ κόσμῳ πρέπει*.

**πέδιλα.** Here, evidently, a kind of buskin; usually, only of sandals.

8. **Φερενδάτης ὁ Μεγαβάζου.** Megabazus had been one of the most trusted generals of Darius, and was left in command of the troops remaining in Europe after the Scythian campaign, IV. 143. It was at his advice that Histiaeus was subsequently recalled from his fort on the Strymon, a measure which led ultimately to the outbreak of the Ionian Revolt.

9. **Πάκτυες.** Ancestors of the Afghans, who still call themselves Pakhtu.

68 1. **Οὔτιοι.** Modern Kirman, in the heart of Persia. Little is known of the *Μύκοι*. The *Παρικάνιοι* were a non-Aryan race of dark colour.

4. **Ἀρσαμένης,** according to Plut., was slain fighting bravely at Salamis. He is described as *ἀνὴρ ἀγαθὸς καὶ τῶν βασιλέως ἀδελφῶν πολὺν κράτιστός τε καὶ δικαιοτάτος*, Them. XIV.

69 1. **ζιράς,** a foreign word, denoting a long loose robe descending to the feet.

2. **τόξα παλίντονα.** Bows so elastic that, when unstrung, they sprang backwards. *παλίντονα* evidently here describes a special kind of bow, though sometimes employed as a general epithet, being applied to the bows of the Scythians, Aesch. Cho. 160, which were not of the backbending class. Cf. Soph. Tr. 511, and the frequent use in Homer. See Rich, s. *arcus*.

**πρὸς δεξιὰ.** 'On the right side.' Bows were usually hung on the left. *ἐπὶ δεξιὰ* is more common; cf. II. 93, VI. 33.

4. **ἐναμμένοι.** Middle. Cf. Ar. Av. 1250, *παρδαλᾶς ἐνημμένους. παρδαλέας*, sc. *δοράς*.

10. **τυλωτὰ**, i.q. *τετυλωμένα*, ch. 63.

18. **Ἀραβίων.** Probably the inhabitants of the strip of land between the Nile basin and Red Sea (cf. II. 8); for, as R. points out, the Arabs of Asia were never conquered by Persia, III. 88.

**Ἀρσάμης.** Cf. Persae, 37:

ὃ τε τῆς ἱερᾶς Μέμφιδος ἄρχων  
μέγας Ἀρσάμης.

In I. 308, his death at Salamis is recorded.

2. **Αἰθίοπες.** Cf. Od. I. 23:

70

Αἰθίοπας, τοὶ διχθὰ δεδαίταται, ἔσχατοι ἀνδρῶν,  
οἱ μὲν δυσομένου Ὑπερίονος, οἱ δ' ἀνιόντος.

The African Ethiopians of lower Ethiopia and Nubia, forefathers of the negroes of to-day, were partially reduced by Cambyzes, III. 97. The so-called Asiatic Ethiopians, quite a different race, as we see from Hdt.'s description, were scattered through S. Iran and India; a remnant may be seen in modern Belûchistan.

9. **προμετωπίδια.** Elsewhere, of a metal plate used to protect the forehead of cavalry horses, Xen. An. I. 8, 7. For the custom here described cf. Virg. Aen. XI. 680, of Ornytus:

*caput ingens oris hiatus*

*Et malae texere lupi cum dentibus albis.*

So Hercules is depicted, Val. Flacc. Arg. I. 34, as wearing the Nemean lion's head for a helmet.

11. **κατέχρα.** Cf. ἀποχρᾶ, ch. 43. ἐξέχρησε, VIII. 70.

12. **προβλήματα κ.τ.λ.** Cf. IV. 175, of an African tribe, ἐς δὲ τὸν πόλεμον στρουθῶν καταγαίων δοράς φορέουσι προβλήματα.

1. **Λίβυες.** A detailed description of the various Libyan 71 tribes is given IV. 168 seqq. Though Hdt. applies the name Libya to Africa as a whole (excluding Egypt, which he assigns to Asia, II. 17), he limits the designation 'Λίβυες' to a special native and nomadic race, IV. 197, represented at the present day by the Berbers, who, dark as they are, are considerably lighter in colour than negroes.

σκευήν μὲν σκυτίνην. Cf. IV. 189, σκυτίνη ἡ ἐσθῆς τῶν Λιβυσσέων ἐστί. In the Soudan even now 'the general dress is leather' (Lyon, quoted by R.).

2. ἀκοντίοισι ἐπικαύτοισι. Cf. ch. 74; and Virg. Aen. xi. 893:

*robore duro*

*Stipitibus ferrum sudibusque imitantur obustis,*

and ib. vii. 524, *praeustis*.

72 1. Παφλαγόνες, a tribe allied to the Cappadocians. They were included in the empire of Croesus, I. 28, and on his fall became subject to Persia.

2. κράνεα πεπλεγμένα. Cf. ch. 63; plaited thongs of leather are probably meant, as in Xen.'s time the Paphlagonians wore leathern helmets. An. v. 4, 13.

4. πέδιλα...ἀνατείνοντα. Cf. ch. 67.

5. Λίγυες. From the mountain slopes of Caucasus; perhaps of the same race as the inhabitants of the European Liguria.

6. Ματιηνοί. Locality: the mountainous region of Kurdistan, stretching as far as Erzeroum, and possibly touching Atropatene. The race seems however to have been scattered.

Μαριανδυνοί. Also formerly subject to Croesus; they lived to the north of Bithynia, along the coast, and were probably of Thracian origin.

8. Σύροι. The origin of the Cappadocians has been much disputed. It is not impossible that, as their home lay on the borderland between the Aryan and Semitic races, they were of mixed descent. They obtained the name of Syrian as being the westernmost tribe of the great Assyrian (ch. 63) Empire, and therefore the first known to the Greeks.

73 1. Φρύγες. There can be no doubt that the Briges and Phrygians were connected, Φ being regularly changed to B by the Macedonians; that the Phrygians were offshoots of the Briges is less probable. The latter are most likely the Βρύγοι of vi. 45 and infra 185. The Phrygians were at a later time so much employed as slaves in Greece that Φρύξ came to mean a slave; cf. Ar. Vesp. 433.

2. παραλλάσσοντες, i. q. διαλλάσσοντες, ch. 70.

6. Ἀρμένιοι. Here again, though the races were kindred, it is doubtful whether the Armenians were Phrygian settlers. Both races belonged to the Iranian branch of the Aryan family.

1. Λυδοί. The Lydians had conquered and supplanted the 74 Maeonians, who are mentioned as dwelling by the Tmolus, II. II. 866. The Lydians first rose to prominence under Gyges, about 716 B.C., extended their power largely under Croesus, and became a medium for importing Greek civilisation into the East. For Lydus, cf. i. 7, οἱ δὲ βασιλεύσαντες ταύτης τῆς χώρας ἦσαν ἀπόγονοι Λυδοῦ, τοῦ Ἄττυος, ἀπ' ὅθεν ὁ δῆμος Λύδιος ἐκλήθη ὁ πᾶς οὗτος. Cf. also ch. 61 (14) note.

8. Λυδῶν ἄποικοι. Cf. i. 171, Μυσοῖσι καὶ Λυδοῖσι μέτεστι ὥς κασιγνήτοισι εἶναι τοῖσι Καρσί· τὸν γὰρ Λυδὸν καὶ τὸν Μυσὸν λέγουσι εἶναι Καρὸς ἀδελφεούς. The latter theory, that the Mysians were a kindred race, not an offshoot of the Lydians, is on the whole more probable; they also fell under the sway of Croesus, i. 28. The Mysian Olympus was the scene of the boar hunt, fatal to Croesus' son, i. 43.

10. Ἀρταφέρνης ὁ Ἀρταφέρνηος. The elder Artaphernes, half-brother of Darius, had, while Satrap of Sardis, at Aristagoras' request, promoted the expedition against Naxos, the failure of which led indirectly to the Ionian Revolt; he afterwards played a prominent part in the ensuing war, v. 31 seq.

For the younger Artaphernes, and his share in the Marathonian expedition, cf. vi. 94 seq.

2. ἀλωπεκέας ἔχοντες. Cf. Xen. An. vii. 4, § 4, (quoted by 75 R.) οἱ Θρᾷκες ἀλωπεκίδας ἐπὶ ταῖς κεφαλαῖς φοροῦσι καὶ τοῖς ὤσι, καὶ χιτῶνας οὐ μόνον περὶ τοῖς στέρνοις, ἀλλὰ καὶ περὶ τοῖς μηροῖς, καὶ ζειράς μέχρι τῶν ποδῶν ἐπὶ τῶν ἵππων ἔχουσιν ἀλλ' οὐ χλαμύδας.

5. νεβρῶν. Gen. of material; 'of deerskin', as we should say.

9. ὑπὸ Τευκρῶν τε καὶ Μυσῶν. Cf. ch. 20.

2. ἀσπίδας. It is clear that some words are missing 76 before ἀσπίδας.

3. προβόλους. Cf. ch. 148, τὸν προβόλαιον, what is put forward for defence; cf. ch. 71, πρόβλημα, a shield.



For *λυκιοεργέας*, 'of Lycian workmanship', others read *λυκοεργέας*, 'defending from wolves'.

- 77 1. *Καβηλέες*. The Cabalians are distinguished from the Lasonians, III. 90; the origin of neither tribe is certain, though the former were probably Semitic; their home was in the south of Asia Minor, to the north of Lycia. For the Cilicians, whose descent is doubtful, cf. ch. 91.

4. *Μιλύαι*. Milyas, the name of a district in Lycia, was originally used of the whole (cf. I. 173); but the Milyan race was distinct from that of the Lycians proper.

5. *ἔμματα ἐνεπεπορπέατο*, 'wore garments fastened with brooches'; cf. *πορπάζω*, 'to pin down', Aesch. P. V. 61, and *πόρπη*, a brooch, buckle.

*τόξα Λύκια*, i.e. *τόξα κρανείνα*, ch. 92.

- 78 1. *Μόσχοι*, the 'Mesech' of Ps. cxx., were the chief people of Northern Syria, Taurus, and Cappadocia, during the Assyrian Empire; they were afterwards driven by the Aryan races to the district about Colchis, from whence in later times they crossed the Caucasus, and were known as Muscovites.

3. *λόγχαι*, 'spear points'. Cf. chs. 40, 55, 69.

4. *Τιβαρηνοί*, the 'Tubal' of the Bible, were, like the Moschians, of Turanian origin; with the latter they are associated, not only in Hdt., III. 94, but frequently in Scripture; cf. Ezek. xxvii. 13, "Javan, Tubal and Meshech". Ib. xxxiii. 26, "Meshech, Tubal, and all her multitude" etc. etc. They first occupied Cappadocia, and were afterwards driven into a small tract along the N. coast of Asia Minor.

*Μάκρωνες*. Locality: about Trapezus, modern Trebizond. They had thrown off the Persian yoke in Xenophon's time, but afterwards fell under the dominion of Pontus, then of Rome, and were converted to Christianity in the reign of Justinian.

*Μοσύνοικοι*. Locality: a tract of coast between the Tibareni and Macrones. A wild, uncivilised tribe, said to be called after the wooden towers in which they lived. The elected chiefs, who governed them, were never permitted to quit their several towers, and were thus conveniently starved to death, when they failed to satisfy their subjects! Cf. Xen. An. v. 4.

9. Ἀρταΰκτης ὁ Χεράσμιος. For Artayktes, son of Cherasmis, cf. ch. 33.

1. Μᾶρες. An obscure tribe; locality uncertain.

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4. Κόλχοι. Locality: basin of the river Phasis, together with a tract of country above Trapezus. The Colchians, a black race living in the midst of whites, were believed by Hdt. to be of Egyptian origin, II. 104. Cf. Pind., P. IV. 212, κελαινώπεσσι Κόλχοισιν.

7. Φαρανδάτης, given as Φαρανδάκης, Aesch. Pers. 31.

Ἀλαρόδιοι, an obscure tribe, perhaps from the region of Ararat.

8. Σάσπειρες, or Σάπειρες; mod. Sper.

9. Μασίστιος. A Persian of this name fell at Plataea, IX. 24 seqq., remarkable for beauty and stature, for whom great lamentation was made, ὡς ἀνδρὸς ἀπολομένου μετὰ γε Μαρδόνιον λογιμωτάτου, παρὰ τε Πέρσῃσι καὶ βασιλεῖ.

1. τῆς Ἑρυθρῆς θαλάσσης. The name is used in a wide sense by Hdt. for the Indian Ocean, II. 102, IV. 39; including the Persian Gulf, as here and I. 180, Εὐφρήτης ἐξίει ἐς τὴν Ἑρυθρὴν θάλασσαν, and also our 'Red Sea', II. 158, which is more specially termed 'ὁ Ἀράβιος κόλπος'. The islands in question lie along the coast of Persia.

2. ἐπόμενα, 'accompanying the host', not necessarily 'following'.

3. ἀνασπάστους, lit. uprooted. The expression ἀνασπάστους ποιεῖν (ἐς τὴν Ἀσίην, παρὰ βασιλέα &c.) is frequently used in Hdt. of conquered nations removed from their homes and 'carried into captivity', a measure common in the East. These lands are also mentioned III. 93, and it is probable that they were reserved as a place of exile for individual offenders.

7. δευτέρῳ ἔτει τούτων. Lit. 'the second year after this', or, as we might say, 'more than a year after'. Mycale was fought according to Greek tradition on the same day as Plataea, Sept. 479, B.C. The death of Mardontes is related in IX. 102.

For τούτων, a loose Gen. of connexion, cf. VI. 40, τρίτῳ ἔτει τούτων, 'the third year before this'; also ib. 46.

6. τελέων. For τέλος, a squadron, cf. ch. 87, 211, 223. 81 These σημάντορες were perhaps inferior native officers.

82 4. τοῦ γνώμην θεμένου. Abicht compares τίθεμαι ψῆφον, iii. 73, an expression which probably gave rise to this one.

8. Μασίστης, Satrap of Bactria, was almost slain by the general Artayntes in a fit of passion, ix. 107, and was eventually put to death with all his household by Xerxes.

9. Μεγάβυζος ὁ Ζωπύρου, the general who afterwards defeated the Athenians in Egypt; Hdt. iii. 160; Thucyd. i. 109. Zopyrus had enabled Darius to capture Babylon by a stratagem, to further which he had mutilated himself, gaining thereby the lasting gratitude of the King.

83 4. Ὑδάρνης ὁ Ὑδάρνεος. Hydarnes was the name of one of the Seven who slew the False Smerdis, and may have been the elder of the two here mentioned. A noble of the same name appears infra ch. 135.

7. ἀραίρητο, 'had been already chosen', and therefore passed at once into the ranks.

οὐδαμά. The adverb, used also in Att. poetry, is formed from the neut. (cf. ch. 55 πρῶτα) of οὐδαμοί, which Hdt. employs alongside of οὐδένης. Cf. ch. 104, ix. 58 &c. The latter form only is found in Attic, though οὐδαμοῦ, οὐδαμῶς, ἀμῶς (γέ πως), etc. are common.

9. πλεῖστον διὰ πάντων. Cf. viii. 37, διὰ πάντων ἄξια θαυμάσαι μάλιστα. Ib. 69, ἐν πρώτοισι τετιμημένοι διὰ πάντων τῶν συμμάχων. i. 25, θέης ἄξιον διὰ πάντων τῶν ἀναθημάτων. διὰ, thus used with superlatives, or virtual superlatives, has the sense 'among', developed out of that of 'through', 'going through'; cf. ch. 30 note.

10. καὶ αὐτοί, 'in physique', apart from their gorgeous uniforms, they were the finest set of men.

84 1. ἵππεύει...τὰ ἔθνεα. ταῦτα naturally refers to the races already mentioned, though in reality only some of these actually fought on horseback; the inaccuracy of the general statement is corrected by πλήν...μῦνα.

Others take ταῦτα as equal to τάδε, explaining that Hdt. is about to enumerate all the cavalry force of the Empire, but, checking himself, gives only those who actually served on this occasion. ἵππεύεσθαι is found in the same sense i. 79.

πλήν, 'only', here a conjunction; cf. ch. 32, and Soph.

O. C. 1643, ἀλλ' ἔρπεθ' ὡς τάχιστα· πλὴν ὁ κύριος | Θησεὺς παρέστω.

3. τὴν αὐτὴν...καὶ ὁ πείζος. The use of *καὶ* in comparisons is a remnant of the old 'paratactic' construction (coordination), used before the development of dependent clauses: "They were armed in the same way, *and* the infantry [was armed in the same way]"; cf. Lat. *idem atque*. For other traces of parataxis, cf. the adversative use of *μὲν* and *δὲ* (Engl. 'though' with dep. clause, answered by 'yet'...); also ch. 12 (2) n., and 160 n. on ἦ...ἦ.

5. ἐξεληλαμένα, i.q. σφυρήλατον, ch. 69.

1. Σαγάρτιοι. A race living chiefly on horseback, from 85 the mountainous country near Parthia.

2. ἔθνος μὲν Π., 'Persian by descent, and in speech'. ἔθνος is probably an acc. (as *φωνῇ* is a dat.) of *respect*, with which *Περσικὸν* agrees, by attraction. Hdt. might have said ἔθνος μὲν Περσικοὶ (or Πέρσαι). Cf. i. 6, ἦν Λυδὸς μὲν γένος.

5. ὄπλα δὲ...ἔχειν. Ch. 2 (14) n.

11. ἦν τε...ἦν τε. For Gk. 'and', where we use 'or', cf. ch. 8 (8) n.

τύχη...ἔλκει, sc. ὁ βαλὼν. Cf. ii. 47, θυσίῃ δὲ ἥδε τῶν ὑῶν τῇ Σελήνῃ ποιεῖται· ἐπεὰν θύσῃ...κατ' ὧν ἐκάλυψε.

12. ἐμπαλασσόμενοι, 'getting entangled'. The simple verb *παλάσσω* is to sprinkle, shake together [lots, in a helmet]; hence rose the idea of mixing and entanglement. Cf. Thucyd. vii. 84, of the Athenian soldiers at the river Assinarus.

4. κέλητας, here, 'riding horses'; for a different meaning 86 cf. viii. 94, περιπίπτειν σφι κέλητα, i.e. a fast sailing vessel.

5. ὄνοι ἄγριοι. Cf. Lat. *onager*.

9. Κάσπειροι. A people from the borders of India.

12. λειπομένας. Cf. ch. 8 (18) n.

5. τῶν ἵππων οὐτι...καμήλους. Cf. i. 80, κάμηλον ἵππος 87 φοβέεται, καὶ οὐκ ἀνέχεται οὔτε τὴν ιδέην αὐτῆς ὀρέων, οὔτε τὴν ὁδμὴν ὁσφραυνόμενος. Cyrus made use of this aversion towards camels to rout the Lydian horse in his battle with Croesus.

8. πεσῶν, i.e. Pharnuches. The change of subject is 88 harsh, but the sense is clear.

13. παρελύθη. Cf. ch. 38 n.



89 1. ἐπτά...χίλιαι. Cf. Aesch. Pers. 341,

Ξέρξῃ δὲ, καὶ γὰρ οἶδα, χιλιάς μὲν ἦν  
ὧν ἦγε πλῆθος, αἱ δ' ὑπέρκομποι τάχει  
ἐκατὸν δις ἦσαν ἐπτά θ'.

Were it not for the statement of Hdt., we might have supposed the 207 to be included in the 1000.

6. ἀγχοτάτω. 'Nearly'; here, absolute; though fol. by a gen., ch. 73, 80; and by a dat., III. 85. Cf. Thuc. VI. 4, ἔτεσι δὲ ἐγγύτατα ὀκτώ καὶ ἐκατὸν μετὰ τὴν οἰκισιν.

7. ἐνδεδυκότες. Cf. ch. 91.

8. ὕψος. In the Iliad, the fellow of a wheel; here, the rim of a shield. The πέλτη had no rim.

9. οἱ Φοίνικες. The origin of the Phoenicians, and the question of their migration, previously asserted, c. I. 1, on the authority of Περσέων οἱ λόγιοι, is a much debated point. See R. Essay II. App. According to one theory, the sea coast, from which they migrated, was that not of the Red, but of the Dead Sea, whence they were driven by an earthquake. They voluntarily submitted to Persia, III. 19, probably in the reign of Cambyses, who is said, III. 34, προσεκτήσθαι τὴν θάλασσαν, and were thenceforward the mainstay of the Persian fleet, πᾶς ἐκ Φοινίκων ἡρτητο ὁ ναυτικὸς στρατός. Cf. R. III. 19, note.

These Syrians of Palestine were the Philistines of the sea coast.

11. τῆς Συρίας. Partitive, as also in the following clause. Cf. ch. 38 (13) n.

13. Αἰγύπτιοι. The Egyptians were specially distinguished for their bravery at Artemisium; cf. VIII. 17. Several of the early kings of Egypt, including Nekos (Pharaoh-necoh of II. Kings ch. 23), are mentioned Bk. II. as possessing fleets.

15. χηλευτά, i.e. πλεκτά ἐκ σχόλου (Hesych.).

16. δόρατά τε ναύμαχα, i.e. 'apta ad pugnam navalem', Bähr, who quotes II. xv. 389, [ξύστὰ] ναύμαχα, κολλήεντα, κατὰ στόμα εἰμένα χαλκῷ. Ib. 677.

90 4. κιθῶνας, in opposition to μίτρησι, is surprising; κιτάριας or κιτάρης has been conjectured.

Cyprus was colonised at an early age by the Phoenicians,

Greek settlements being afterwards established on the coast. One of these, Salamis, is said to have been founded by Teucer, soon after the Trojan war; cf. Hor. Od. i. 7. The island was conquered by Amasis, II. 182, but submitted to Persia before the Egyptian campaign of Cambyses, III. 19. It joined the Ionian revolt, V. 104, was speedily reconquered, and supplied ships to Persia at the battle of Lade, together with the Phoenicians, Egyptians and Cilicians. The petty kings, here βασιλῆες, are called τύραννοι, V. 109.

7. Κύθνου, one of the Cyclades.

8. οἱ δὲ ἀπὸ Αἰθιοπίας. These may have been colonists left after the Egyptian conquest (R.), or, as B. suggests, a swarm of pirates from the Nile Delta.

5. ἐνδεδυκότες, sc. ἦσαν. Cf. ch. 89.

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7. Ὑπαχαιοί. The name is not mentioned elsewhere. The Cilicians were a Semitic race, akin to the Phoenicians. For the eponymous Κίλιξ, cf. ch. 61 (14) n.

9. Πάμφυλοι. Chiefly of Greek descent, though intermingled with Lycians, and perhaps other races. Amphilocheus ὁ Ἀμφιάρεω is mentioned III. 91; the legends of his wanderings with Calchas are various.

5. αἰωρούμενα. Cf. ch. 61, παραιωρούμενα in a similar 92 sense. For a metaphorical use, cf. VIII. 100, ὑπὲρ μεγάλων αἰωρηθέντα.

7. Λύκιοι. Cf. I. 173. Sarpedon, driven from Crete by his brother Minos, is there said to have led his partisans to Lycia.

8. ἐπὶ δὲ Λύκου. Cf. ib. Λύκος ὁ Πανδίωνος ἐξελαθεὶς καὶ οὗτος ὑπὸ τοῦ ἀδελφεοῦ Αἰγέος ἀπύκετο ἐς τοὺς Τερμίλλας παρὰ Σαρπηδόνα. The Lycian race was not Hellenic, and it is doubtful whether there was any foundation for this legend.

1. Δωριεῖς. Cf. I. 144; supra ch. 9 n.

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3. γεγονότες ἀπὸ Πελοποννήσου. Cf. ἐκ Κρήτης γεγονότες above. ἀπὸ generally expresses more remote origin than ἐκ. Cf. ch. 150; ISOCR. 249 B, τοὺς μὲν ἀπὸ θεῶν, τοὺς δ' ἐξ αὐτῶν τῶν θεῶν γεγονότας.

4. Κῆρες. Cf. I. 171, the passage referred to. τὸ γὰρ παλαιὸν ἔόντες Μίνω τε κατήκοοι καὶ καλεόμενοι Λέλεγες εἶχον τὰς νήσους...

κατὰ μὲν δὴ Κᾶρας οὕτω Κρήτες λέγουσι γενέσθαι· οὐ μέντοι αὐτοὶ γε ὁμολογέουσι τούτοις οἱ Κᾶρες, ἀλλὰ νομίζουσι αὐτοὶ ἑωντοὺς εἶναι αὐτόχθονας ἡπειρώτας, καὶ τῷ ὀνόματι τῷ αὐτῷ αἰεὶ διαχρεωμένους τῷ περ νῦν. In the Iliad, the Carians are distinct from the mixed race of the Leleges, x. 428, and are designated βαρβαρόφωνοι, an epithet which has been explained to mean that, being of kindred race to the Greeks, they attempted to employ their language. See, on the whole question, Curtius, Griesch. Gesch. ed. 1887, p. 45, and E. T. p. 50. Caria had joined in the Ionian Revolt, v. 103, and was reconquered after the fall of Miletus, vi. 25.

7. ἐν τοῖσι πρώτοις τῶν λόγων. Cf. v. 36, ἐν τῷ πρώτῳ τῶν λόγων. Although these 'λόγοι' may have been definite divisions of the work, they must not be identified with the 9 Books; for in vi. 39, ἐν ἄλλῳ λόγῳ refers to the end of the same Book. Cf. ch. 213, ἐν τοῖσι δπισθε λόγοις.

94 1. Ἰῶνες. Cf. ch. 9 n., and i. 142. According to tradition, the Achaeans of S. E. Peloponnesus, expelled by the Dorian migration (Return of the Heracleidae B.C. 1046 circ.), retired to the historical Achaea, from which they drove the Ionians to Attica, the Isles and Asia Minor.

4. καὶ πρὶν... Ἰῶνες. We are told in i. 56, that the Ionic γένος belonged to the Pelasgic ἔθνος, i.e. to the stock of original inhabitants of Greece. For πρὶν ἤ, cf. ch. 8 (33) n.

6. Αἰγιαλέες, probably 'men of the seashore' (cf. αἰγιαλός), though derived in v. 68 from Aigialeus, son of Adrastus.

7. τοῦ Ξούθου. Xuthus, a mythical son of Hellen, driven from Thessaly by his brothers Dorus and Aeolus, took refuge with Erechtheus of Athens, whose daughter, Creusa, became his wife and the mother of Ion. According to the legend made famous by Euripides, Ion was the son of Apollo and Creusa, and spent his youth at the Delphic Temple, in ignorance of his parentage. On the death of Erechtheus Xuthus was expelled to Aegialus in the Peloponnese. Ion remained at Athens, became στρατάρχης, viii. 44, and father of the four Ionic tribes, Geleontes, Aegicoreis, Argadeis, and Hopletes.

95 1. νησιῶται. Probably from Lemnos, Imbros, and Samothrace; others joined the fleet after Artemisium, viii. 66.

3. καὶ...ἔθνος. 'These also a Pelasgian race.' For the attraction cf. ch. 22, 41 (9) n.

4. κατὰ...Ἀθηνέων. 'On the same grounds that the men of the 12 cities, who started from Athens, are called Ionian.' Though the colonists were of mixed race, i. 146, the migratory movement was chiefly Ionic, Athens the main starting-point. Cf. Curtius, E. T. i. p. 129.

The members of this Dodecapolis were: Miletus, Myus, Priene, Ephesus, Colophon, Lebedus, Teos, Clazomenae, Phocaea, Samos, Chios, Erythrae.

6. Αἰολέες. Cf. ch. 9 n.

8. Ἑλλησπόντιοι...οἱ ἐκ τοῦ Πόντου. 'The inhabitants of the Greek cities on both sides of the Hellespont, the Propontis and the Bosphorus' (R.); cf. vi. 33. These also had joined in the Ionian Revolt.

10. κατὰ χώραν μένουσι, 'remaining where they were'; hence metaphorically iv. 201, μένειν τὸ ὄρκιον κατὰ χώραν. vi. 42, φόρους ἔταξαν οἱ κατὰ χώραν διατελέουσι ἔχοντες.

11. φύλακας εἶναι. The acc. must be taken closely with the infin. Hdt. seems to prefer this constr. to the rather more common one, in which the predicate is attracted into the dat.; cf. ch. 107, i. 19 with Pl. Phaed. 92, πρέπει τῷ λόγῳ συνωδῶ εἶναι.

οἱ δὲ λοιποί. For δὲ resuming the thread of the sentence cf. ch. 136, 141. Supra ch. 43, the more emphatic δὴ is used.

14. Ἰώνων κ. Δωριέων ἄποικοι. Chiefly Ionian. Chalcedon, Byzantium, Selymbria and Astacus were, however, Dorian.

4. Σιδώνιοι. Cf. ch. 44.

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6. οὐ γὰρ...λόγον. 'As I am not constrained to do so, on the score of my narrative.' Cf. ii. 3, ὑπὸ τοῦ λόγου ἐξαναγκαζόμενος ἐπιμνησθήσομαι. vii. 139, ἀναγκαίη ἐξέργομαι γνώμην ἀποδέξασθαι, and ch. 99, ὡς οὐκ ἀναγκαζόμενος.

ἐξ- gives the idea of being debarred from all other courses, and so forced into one particular course. Cf. i. 31, ἐκκληιόμενοι τῇ ὥρῃ, 'compelled by the press of time'. See B. a. 1.

ιστορίη is (1) *inquiry*, ii. 118, ιστορίῃσι φάμενοι εἶδέναι παρ' αὐτοῦ Μενελεω. (2) *information gained by inquiry*, ii. 99, ὅψις



τε ἢ ἐμὴ καὶ γνώμη κ. ιστορίῃ, as opp. to *Αἰγυπτίους λόγους*, popular legends. Cf. i. 1, *ιστορίης ἀπόδεξις*, 'setting forth of investigations'. (3) *narrative*, as here and in later writers.

8. ἐπάξιοι, sc. *μνήμης*, i. q. *ἀξιόλογοι*.

11. ἐπεὶ...μοι. 'For the generals holding the supreme command, and ruling the several races, I have already enumerated, being such as were of Persian blood.'

13. αὐτῶν, i.e. of the commanders.

97 2. Ἀριαβίγνης, slain at Salamis, viii. 89.

3. Ἀσπαθίνεω. A noble of this name was among the slayers of the False Smerdis.

4. Μεγαβάτεω. Probably the same who commanded the Naxian expedition in conjunction with Aristagoras, v. 32 seqq.

Ἀχαιμένης. Cf. ch. 7.

9. οἱ δύο, 'the other two'. Cf. ch. 29 (12) n.

10. κέρκουροι. Open vessels propelled by oars, invented by the Cyprians; used for trading purposes as well as in war.

11. συνελθόντα ἐς τὸν ἀριθμὸν, 'assembled for the muster'; cf. ch. 60, ὅσον ἕκαστοι παρῆχον πλῆθος ἐς ἀριθμὸν. Xen. An. vii. 1. 11, ὃς ἂν μὴ παρῇ εἰς τὸν ἀριθμὸν, and supra ch. 59, ἀριθμὸν ποιέεσθαι. Schweighäuser joins ἐς τ. ἀρ. with *τρισχίλια*, 'ter mille numero'.

For ἐφάνη, 'proved to be', 'were made out to be', cf. ch. 60.

98 3. Σιδώνιος. Cf. viii. 67, ὁ Σιδώνιος βασιλεύς. At the council of war before Salamis, he filled the most honourable seat after Xerxes.

4. Σιρώμου. Probably the same name as Hiram.

Ἀράδιος. Aradus, or Aroad, one of the oldest Phoenician cities, lay on the coast, considerably to the N. of Sidon.

Μέρβαλος. Another form of Maherbal.

5. Σύνεννεσις. Probably the title of the kings of Cilicia, being applied to all those mentioned in history. This king fell at Salamis fighting bravely, πρῶτος εἰς εὐψυχίαν...εἰς ἀνὴρ πλείστον πόνον | ἐχθροῖς παρασχών, εὐκλεῶς ἀπώλετο, Pers. 326.

6. Γόργος. Gorgos, king of Salamis, had fled to Persia when, at his brother Onesilus' instigation, Cyprus joined the Ionian Revolt, v. 104. On the suppression of the rebellion he was reinstated.

8. **Ἰστιάιος**. King of Termera, a Carian city lying opposite the island of Cos. He was seized by Aristagoras before the outbreak of the Revolt, v. 37, but had evidently regained his position.

9. **Δαμασίθυμος**. King of Calynda, on the Carian frontier. For his fate cf. viii. 87.

3. **ὥς οὐκ ἀναγκαζόμενος**. Cf. ch. 96.

99

**Ἀρτεμισίης...γυναικός**. 'But only of Artemisia, at whom above all I wonder, for having taken part in the expedition against Greece, woman as she was.'

*θωῦμα ποιέεσθαι* is generally followed by an acc. of the thing wondered at, cf. viii. 74; sometimes coupled with a gen. of the person in whom, ix. 58, θ. π. τὸ ἀρρωδῆσαι τοῦ Ἀρταβάξου. Here the acc. is replaced by an explanatory partic. *στρατευσαμένης γυναικός* = τὸ στρατεύσασθαι γυναῖκα (έοῦσαν).

For *θωῦμα ποιέεσθαι* = *θωνμάζειν*, cf. ch. 58 (6) n.

According to the account of Suidas, Herodotus was driven from Halicarnassus by the tyranny of Lygdamis, grandson of Artemisia; if this be true, he shows singular impartiality towards the family. The queen is frequently mentioned in Bk. viii.

12. **Νισυρίων τε καὶ Καλυδνίων**. Nisyros and Calydna were two small islets on either side of Cos; they are mentioned in the Catalogue of Ships, II. ii. 676.

16. **τῶν δὲ...αὐτὴν**, 'of the cities which I have enumerated as under her rule'. Cf. ch. 115.

19. **ἐς μὲν τοσόνδε...ἐλρῆται**. 'So much for an account of the naval force.' For similar expressions dismissing a subject, cf. viii. 125, *ταῦτα μὲν νῦν ἐς τοσοῦτο ἐγένετο*. ix. 18, *τὰ...μὲν ἐς τοσοῦτο ἐγένετο*.

1. **ἡριθμήθη τε καὶ διετάχθη**. The mss. give *ἡρίθμησε*, 100 but the change of subject in that case would be impossibly harsh, far harsher than that of ch. 88 (8), and the confusion may be partly due to the following *ἐπεθύμησε*.

2. **διεξελάσας**. Notice the prepositions; *driving right through*, *ἐξ ἐσχάτων ἐς ἐσχατα*.

5. **ἐπυνθάνετο**, 'pursued his inquiries'. The tense marks

repetition. *πυνθάνεσθαι* is usually fol. by a dir. acc. of clause with *ὅτι*.

*ἀπέγραφον*, 'made a report'. Below, the middle is used in a *causative* sense, 'having a report made'. Cf. the Attic *ἀπογραφή*, 'register', or 'report of a deposition'.

12. *τὰς νέας ἀνεκώχεον*. Cf. ch. 36 (8) n.

15. *μετωπηδόν*, 'in line' (so *μετωπηδόν πλεῖν*, *ἐπιπλεῖν*), the ships being *ἀντίπρωροι*, viii. 11, as opposed to *ἐπὶ κέρως*, 'in column'; cf. Thucyd. ii. 90.

17. *ἐντός* = *μεταξύ*.

101 2. *Δημάρητον*. Cf. ch. 3.

5. *τι...τὰ θέλω*. Cf. ch. 16 (27), 52 (4).

10. *χεῖρας ἀνταειρόμενοι*. Cf. ch. 143, 212, and viii. 140, *πόλεμον ἀνταειρόμενοι*.

*οὐ γὰρ...οὐκ ἀξιόμαχοί εἰσι*. Tr. 'For indeed, as I think, though all the Greeks and all the other dwellers to the westward should muster their forces (i.e. separately), they are too weak to withstand my onset, if not united by one bond'.

14. *μὴ ἐόντες ἄρθμιοι* must be a supposition, or *οὐ* would have been used. Cf. ix. 9, 'Ἀθηναίων ἡμῖν ἐόντων μὴ ἄρθμίων, 'if the Athenians are not leagued with us', in contrast to ib. 37, *ἐς Τεγέαν ἐοῦσαν οὐκ ἄρθμῆν*, 'which was not in league with', &c.

*τὸ ἀπὸ σεῦ*, 'your opinion'. Cf. i. 159, *πρὶν ἂν τὸ ἀπὸ σεῦ ἡμῖν δηλωθῇ*, 'your command' (of the oracle), and ix. 7, *τὸ ἀπ' ἡμέων*, 'our conduct'.

17. *κότερα...ἤδονῃ*. 'Shall my answer be the truth, or what will please you?' Or, more freely, 'Shall I aim at the truth, or at your gratification?'

19. *ἀηδέστερον*, sc. *μιν*, Demaratus.

102 2. *ἀληθείῃ διαχρήσασθαι πάντως*, 'on no account to speak anything but the truth'.

3. *τὰ μὴ...ἀλώσεται*, i.e. *τὰ λέγων τις μὴ...ἀλώσεται*. Tr. freely: 'such statements as shall not cause you hereafter to convict the speaker of falsehood'. With this indefinite use of *τις* for *ἐγὼ*, cf. ch. 48 n.

5. *σύντροφος*, lit. 'brought up with'; hence, living with,

habitual. Cf. Thucyd. II. 40, ἄλλο τι ὄν ἢ τῶν ξυντροφῶν τι, 'something out of the ordinary'.

6. ἔπακτος, 'imported', used specially of a foreign ally. Both Poverty and Valour are almost personified. ἀρετὴ is 'valour' in a wide sense, the persistent energy that is ready to battle with every difficulty and face every danger.

ἀπὸ...ἰσχυροῦ, 'the product of culture and binding law'.

11. ἔρχομαι λέγων. Cf. ch. 49 n.

τοῦσδε τοὺς λόγους, 'what I am going to say'.

15. καὶ ἤν, 'even supposing that', implying that there is little likelihood in the supposition. Distinguish from εἰ (ἤν) καὶ, "'granting that', where the speaker admits that a condition exists, but denies that it is an obstacle. Cf. Soph. El. 547, εἰ καὶ σῆς δίχα γνώμης λέγω" (Jebb, Soph. O. T. 305).

16. τὰ σὰ φρονέωσι. τὰ τινος φρονεῖν is the regular expression for 'supporting a person's cause'. Cf. II. 162, οἱ ἔτι τὰ ἐκείνου ἐφρόνεον. Infra ch. 145, 172, τὰ ἀμείνω φρονέειν περὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα, 'to be well affected to the cause of Greece'.

ἀριθμοῦ...εἰσι. 'As for numbers, do not ask how many they are that it is possible for them to act thus.'

18. ἦν τε γὰρ τύχῳσι χίλιοι. 'If there be precisely 1000, &c.' τυγχάνειν often retains an idea of exactitude and coincidence from its original sense of *hitting the mark*. Cf. supra 3, ἐτύχανε κατὰ τῷτὸ ἀναβεβηκώς, of coincidence in time; IX. 64, ὧντοί γάρ σφι τυγχάνουσι ἐόντες, of identity. Cf. VIII. 102.

19. ἦν τε καὶ πλεῖνες, added to complete the symmetry of the sentence, though it does not strengthen the sense.

2. οἷον ἐφθέγξαο ἔπος. We are reminded of the Homeric 103 ποῖον ξειπες; ποῖόν σε ἔπος φύγεν ἕρκος ὁδόντων; Hdt. is frequently carried into Epic style, when the scene is dramatic or the subject inspiring. Cf. ch. 38 (the prayer of Pythius), ch. 159 (the Spartan envoy's exclamation).

3. ἄνδρας...μαχέσασθαι, exclamatory. Cf. Dem. XXI. 582, τοῦτον δὲ ὑβρίζειν, ἀναπνεῖν δέ. Cf. Gdw., § 104.

6. καὶ τοι. 'And yet', assuming a negative answer to the preceding question. Cf. ch. 46 note on γάρ.

τὸ πολιτικὸν = οἱ πολῖται, hence ἐκείνων following.

9. κατὰ νόμους τοὺς ὑμετέρους. Probably a reference to



the double share of sacrificial meat, which was the king's prerogative. vi. 57.

11. σὲ δέ γε. For δέ in apodosis cf. ch. 51 n.

δίζημαι. 'I demand'; usually to seek out, inquire into; cf. ch. 142, γινώμαι διζημένων τὸ μαντήϊον, i.e. its meaning. Xerxes is speaking roughly, as is clear from what follows. B. suggests that he had the 10,000 Immortals in his mind.

12. ὀρθοῖτ' ἄν. Lit. 'would stand', i.e. be correct; cf. ὀρθῶ λόγῳ = truly. The special sense of uprightness or straightness sometimes becomes merged in that of general correctness and success. Cf. i. 208, ἣν ἡ διάβασις μὴ ὀρθωθῇ.

13. παρὰ σεῦ. Cf. ch. 18 (20) n.

14. μεγάθεα. 'In stature', lit. in your respective statures, more exact than the English singular. Cf. iii. 107, ὅφεις μικροὶ τὰ μεγάθεα. Thuc. vii. 55, πόλεσι μεγέθει ἐχούσαις. The singular, however, is more common. Cf. ii. 121 &c.

16. μάτην κόμπος. μάτην, an adverb, modifies the verbal notion in κόμπος (= κομπεόμενον). Cf. Aesch. Ag. 165, τὸ μάταν ἄχθος (what weighs down without purpose), vain burden.

ὄρα μὴ...εἴη. Optat. instead of Subj., probably through the influence of the preceding ὀρθοῖτ' ἄν, with which μάτην...εἴη is contrasted.

17. ἐπεὶ. This argumentative ἐπεὶ, introducing a challenge or question, to corroborate the speaker's assertion, is very common in tragedy. Cf. Soph. El. 352, ἐπεὶ δίδαξον. O. T. 390. O. C. 969.

παντὶ τῷ οἰκότι, 'in all probability'; cf. ch. 167, οἰκότι χρωμένων.

18. χίλιοι. Cf. ch. 186, where the Persian warrior host is estimated at over 2½ millions.

26. ἀνειμένοι ἐς τὸ ἐλεύθερον, 'given up to freedom'. Cf. ii. 167, of a warrior caste, ἐς τὸν πόλεμον ἀνειμένους. Ib. 173, ἐς παιγνίην ἐωυτὸν ἀνιέναι. Thucyd. ii. 39, ἀνειμένως διατρώμενοι.

29. ἀλλὰ, 'No', 'on the contrary'.

30. τοῦτο, i.e. τὸ πλεόνων ἀνταξίους εἶναι.

104 2. ἀρχήθεν, common in Hdt.: used occasionally in poetry, never in Attic prose.

5. τὰ κατήκοντα Σπαρτιήτησι. 'The actual facts touching

the Spartans', what is really present to them; cf. viii. 19, τοῖσι κατήκουσι πρήγμασι, and ib. 40, 102. The later sense, of fitness or duty, is not found in Hdt.

6. τὰ νῦν τάδε, lit. 'as regards the present', i.e. 'at this present time'; acc. of respect used adverbially, found also in tragedy; cf. Soph. O. C. 133, τὰ δὲ νῦν. El. 215, τὰ παρόντ'.

10. βλον. Cf. ch. 28.

11. τὸν σώφρονα, i.e. the *typical* prudent man, representative of a class, and hence one of that class.

14. δυοῖσι. Cf. ch. 49 (15).

ἐκὼν τε εἶναι. So too, ch. 143, τὸ σύμπαν εἶναι. i. 153, τὴν πρώτην εἶναι. Also, τὸ νῦν εἶναι, κατὰ τοῦτο εἶναι, τὸ ἐπὶ τούτοις εἶναι. The infinitive has generally a *limiting* force, 'willingly, at least'; 'now, at any rate'. Cf. the similar infinitives ch. 24 (1) n. ἐκὼν εἶναι is regularly found with a neg. only, but see ch. 164.

17. οἱ ἕκαστός φησι. The verb is attracted, to agree with the singular standing next to it.

21. πάντα, 'in all respects'.

ἔπειτι...νόμος. Cf. iii. 38, ὀρθῶς μοι δοκείι Πίνδαρος ποιῆσαι, νόμον πάντων βασιλέα φήσας εἶναι.

23. γῶν, Att. γοῦν, lit. 'at any rate', is here used idiomatically to introduce one illustration of a general statement (ὑποδειμαίνουσι) preceding. Cf. Thucyd. i. 1, διὰ γὰρ ἀρετὴν γῆς...τὴν γοῦν Ἀττικὴν...διὰ τὸ λεπτόγειον. Ib. 75, 76, πᾶσι δ' ἀνεπίφθορον...Τμεῖς γοῦν. Ib. vi. 59.

24. οὐκ ἐὼν φεύγειν...ἀλλὰ...ἀπόλλυσθαι. κελεύων or some such word must be supplied after ἀλλὰ out of οὐκ ἐὼν. Cf. ch. 143.

27. σιγᾶν. Here transitive, like σιωπᾶν. Cf. v. 21, ὁ θάνατος ἐσιγήθη.

1. ἐς γέλωτα...ἔτραψε, 'turned it off into a laugh', 'made a 105 jest of it'; cf. Thucyd. vi. 35, ἐς γέλωτα ἔτρεπον τὸ πρᾶγμα (Abicht). Bähr reads ἐτρέφατο, 'had recourse to laughter'. Cf. ch. 209 (Demaratus to Xerxes), γέλωτά με ἔθεν. For text see Errata.

5. ἐν τῷ Δορίσκῳ τούτῳ. Resuming the account of the march from ch. 59.

7. καταπαύσας, sc. τῆς ἀρχῆς. Cf. iv. 1, καταπαύσαντες τῆς ἀρχῆς Μήδους.

- 106 7. ἔτι πρότερον, after the Scythian campaign, iv. 143, v. 25, and by Mardonius, vi. 45.  
 11. ὑπὸ Ἑλλήνων, under Athenian command.  
 13. ἐδυνάσθησαν. This form is also found in Xenophon, instead of the regular Attic ἐδυνήθησαν.
- 107 8. παρεὼν...ἐξελθεῖν. Cf. ch. 95 (11) n.  
 10. δειλή περιεῖναι. Instrumental, of cause; cf. Thucyd. vii. 84, ἡπείγοντο τοῦ πιεῖν ἐπιθυμία.  
 17. ἐωντὸν ἐπέβαλε, 'threw himself after the others etc.' Eïon was taken between 476 and 466 B.C. According to the improbable account of Pausanias (cf. Thucyd. i. 98), Cimon succeeded by turning the force of the river-current upon the brick walls of the city.
- 108 4. ὡς καὶ πρότερον κ.τ.λ. Cf. ch. 106.  
 9. πεπόλισται πόλις. Cf. ch. 59 (13).  
 10. ἔχεται δὲ ταύτης. Cf. ch. 5 (7) n.  
 12. οὐκ ἀντέσχε τὸ ὕδωρ παρέχων. Cf. ch. 43 (5).  
 15. τῷ δικαιοτάτῳ τῶν λόγων. Cf. ch. 104, τῶν λόγων τοὺς ἀληθεστάτους.  
 16. καὶ αὕτη Κικόνων, i.e. as well as the plain of Doriscus; cf. ch. 59.
- 109 4. Ἀβδηρα. Founded by the fugitive Teians, at the time of Cyrus' conquest of Ionia, i. 168; site uncertain.  
 7. Ἰσμαρίδα. No longer in existence.  
 12. ἰὼν παρήϊε, 'he passed in his course'; cf. ch. 10 (7).  
 13. ὥσεί...μάλιστά κη. Cf. ch. 30, ὡς πέντε μάλιστά κη. There are still salt lakes in the neighbourhood, but the exact site of Pistyrus is uncertain (R.).  
 18. ἐξ εὐωνύμου χειρὸς ἀπέργων. Cf. ch. 43, ἐν ἀριστερῇ ἀπέργων.
- 110 3. Κίκονες. Cf. ch. 59 note.  
 4. Δερσαῖοι. Mentioned by Thucyd. ii. 101, as an independent tribe.  
 Ἡδωνοί. Cf. ch. 114.  
 5. κατοικημένοι. οἰκεῖν and κατοικεῖν are used as follows:  
 I. Transitive: (a) to inhabit (a place), found (a city), vii. 164, κατοίκησε πόλιν. Pass. i. 142, αἰται (αἱ πόλεις) ἐν τῇ Καρίῃ κατοικηται, and ib. νήσους οἰκέται (αἱ πόλεις), vii. 22.

(b) *to settle* (a community), hence *pass.* to be settled, dwell, as here; ch. 9, τοὺς ἐν Εὐρώπῃ κατοικημένους, i. 96, ii. 102, v. 73 etc.

II. *Neuter*: (a) of cities, or places. ii. 166, οὗτος ὁ νομὸς ἐν νήσῳ οἰκεῖ.

(b) of persons, i. 56, (τὸ ἔθνος) οἶκε ἐν Πίνδῳ.

4. **μοῦνοι Ὀρηϊκῶν.** A number of the Thracian tribes 111 were subsequently included in the empire of the Odrysian Sitalkes, Thucyd. ii. 95 sqq.

5. **Ἰδησι παντοίησι,** 'with timber of all kinds'. Cf. i. 110, iv. 109. Ἰδη is an Ionic word: in iv. 109 it is used in the sing. of a wood, and in this sense it is found in Theocritus, xvii. 9.

6. **τὰ πολέμια ἄκροι.** Cf. ch. 5, Εὐρώπῃ ἀρετὴν ἄκρη.

8. **τὸ μαντήϊον,** 'the famous oracle' (cf. ch. 27, τῇ πλατανίστῳ), referred to by Euripides, Hec. 1267, ὁ Ὀρηξὶ μάντις Διδύκκος. The Thracian people worshipped Ares, Dionysus or Bassareus (Hor. Od. i. 18) and Artemis alone; their kings paid special honour to Hermes, Hdt. v. 7.

9. **Βησσοὶ δὲ...χρέουσα,** 'of the Satrians the Bessi publish the oracles, but it is a prophetess who delivers them'.

The Bessi, here referred to as a section of the Satrian race, are mentioned by Pliny and Livy as a distinct tribe (R.).

**πρόμαντις** and **προφήτης** both meant originally one who declares, or interprets, the will of Heaven to man; so Apollo is addressed as **πρόμαντι**, being called elsewhere **Διὸς προφήτης πατρός**. In viii. 135 both terms are applied to the Priest of the Ptoän Apollo.

The word **πρόμαντις** is, however, used specially of the inspired priestess who uttered responses (**χρᾶν**), under direct influence of the deity, in contrast to the **προφήτης** or **προφῆται**, who arranged her words in metric form and declared them to the inquirers.

11. **οὐδὲν ποικιλώτερον,** sc. **χρᾶ**.

1. **τὴν εἰρημένην,** sc. **χώρην**.

2. **δεύτερα τούτων,** 'next after these'; ch. 80 (7) n.

3. **τὰ Πιέρων.** Pieria, the legendary home of the Muses, lying between the Peneus and Haliacmon, had been occupied by the Macedonians, who drove the Pierians thence to the



district round Pangaeum, where Phagres became their capital, Thucyd. ii. 99.

τῶν καὶ ἐνί. See ch. 31 (5) n.

8. μέταλλα. These mines, which at one time yielded a talent of silver a day, v. 17, made the possession of the district a matter of eager contest in the Peloponnesian War, Thucyd. iv. 105, and in later history.

- 113 2. Δόβηράς τε καὶ Παιόπλας. The Doberian and Odomantian Paeonians had held out against Megabazus. The Paeoplians he transported in great numbers to Asia, by command of Darius, v. 15, 16, after the Scythian campaign.

3. παρεξιών. As R. observes, part of the army appears to have marched north, part south of Pangaeum; cf. ch. 121.

11. ἐς τὸν ἐκαλλιρέοντο. καλλιρέεσθαι = θύεσθαι (cf. ch. 167, and vi. 82, where the omens were *not* good), to take the auspices. The *active* is used of obtaining *good* omens (Xen., Theocr.), though not by Hdt., who employs this form intransitively of an auspicious sacrifice itself, ix. 19 καλλιρησάντων τῶν ἱρῶν, and more often without subject expressed, *infr.* ch. 134, καλλιρηῆσαι οὐκ ἔδυνατο. ix. 38, 96.

12. σφάζοντες ἵππους λευκοὺς. Cf. Tac. Ann. vi. 37, where Tiridates the Parthian sacrifices a horse before crossing the Euphrates; the custom is also described by Strabo. Cf. II. xxi. 130, of the Trojans:—

οὐδ' ὑμῖν ποταμός περ ἑὺρροος, ἀργυροδίνης,  
ἀρκέσει, ᾧ δὴ δητὰ πολέας ἱερεύετε ταύρους,  
ζῶους δ' ἐν δίνησι καθίετε μώνυχας ἵππους.

- 114 1. φαρμακεύσαντες ταῦτα. ταῦτα 'internal acc.', i.e. denoting the process resulting from the action of the verb.

3. ἐν Ἐννείᾳ Ὀδοῖσι. The site of Amphipolis, finally founded by the Athenians B.C. 437, after Herodotus had retired to Thurii. Previous attempts to establish a colony, on the part of Aristagoras of Miletus after the Ionian Revolt, and of Athens in 466, had been frustrated by the Edonians, Thucyd. i. 100, iv. 102. The very name of the spot suggests that it was an important position.

9. τὸ ζῶντας κατορύσσειν. This barbarity, practised by Cambyses upon twelve Persian nobles, iii. 35, was known as

‘tree planting’, and continued to be a form of punishment in Persia till recent times (R.). It is said to be still in existence in Morocco.

12. ὑπὸ γῆν. For acc. after ὑπὸ, without idea of motion, but rather of *extension under*, cf. ch. 108 and v. 11, τὰ ὑπὸ τὴν ἄρκτον. Thucyd. II. 17, τὸ Πελασγικὸν καλούμενον τὸ ὑπὸ τὴν ἀκρόπολιν.

ἀντιχαρίζεσθαι, explained by ὑπὲρ ἐωυτῆς. The offering was to propitiate the god of Death in her own stead (ἀντι-), and to procure an extension of her life.

3. Ἀργίλον. Argilus, Stagirus, and Acanthus were all 115 Andrian colonies which sided with Brasidas B.C. 424, Thucyd. IV. 83, 88, 103. Stagirus is famous as the birthplace of Aristotle.

5. Βισαλτῆ. The Bisaltian king refused submission to Persia; cf. VIII. 116.

6. ἐπὶ Ποσειδεῖου, ‘by Posideium’, or, as we should say, ‘of Posideium’.

11. τῶν πρότερον κατέλεξα=τούτων ᾧ. Cf. ch. 99, also VI. 109, τῶν ἐγὼ κατέλεξα ἀγαθῶν τὰ ἐναντία, and IV. 114, τούτων οὐδὲν τῶν ἡμεῖς κατελέξαμεν.

2. ξεινίην προεῖπε, ‘proclaimed a league of friendship’; cf. 116 ch. 9, πόλεμον προειπεῖν. Others tr. ‘gave notice to prepare hospitality’, but such orders would have preceded the arrival of the army; cf. ch. 32.

4. ἐσθῆτι Μηδικῇ. The present of Median garments was a mark of high honour; cf. III. 84. Gifts of raiment were customary in the East, and are frequently mentioned in the Old Testament.

6. τὸ ὄρυγμα ἀκούων, i.e. περὶ τοῦ ὀρύγματος. The Acanthians were among those περὶ τὸν Ἀθῶν κατοικημένοι who worked at the canal; cf. ch. 22.

6. ἀπὸ...δακτύλους, nearly 8 ft. 4 in. The royal cubit was 117 about 20½ in. in length, being greater than the ordinary or μέτριος πηχὺς of I. 178.

7. φωνέοντά τε μέγιστον ἀνθρώπων. Darius was accompanied in his Scythian campaign by an Egyptian claiming the same distinction, of whom he made practical use in summoning his fleet to the shore, IV. 141.

9. ἐξενεῖκαι. Cf. Lat. *efferre*. The Persians buried their dead encased in wax, I. 140.

11. ἐκ θεοπροπίου, 'at the command of an oracle': the phrase occurs frequently; cf. ch. 189.

Philippus, ἔων τε Ὀλυμπιονίκης κ. κάλλιστος Ἑλλήνων τῶν κατ' ἔωντόν, received similar honours from the Egestaeans, v. 47.

12. ἐπουνομάζοντες τὸ οὔνομα, 'calling the while on his name', cf. IV. 35.

118 3. ἐς πᾶν κακοῦ ἀπύκατο. Cf. VIII. 52, ἐς τὸ ἔσχατον κακοῦ ἀπιγμένοι. Cf. also Demosth., ἐς πᾶν προέρχεσθαι (προβαίνειν) μοχθηρίας etc.

4. ἀνάστατοι. Cf. ch. 56 (9) n.

ᾶκου γε, 'seeing that'; cf. ch. 160. ᾶπου in this sense is found occasionally in Attic.

8. δόκιμος ὁμοῖα τῷ μάλιστα, sc. δοκίμῳ. Cf. III. 57, θησαυρὸς (sc. πλούσιος) ὁμοῖα τοῖσι πλουσιωτάτοισι, and for the adv. ὁμοῖα cf. inf. ch. 120.

ἀπέδεξε ἐς τὸ δεῖπνον—τετελεσμένα. 'Reported as spent upon the banquet.' For another meaning, 'to appoint, nominate', cf. ch. 2, 81, 154. ἀποφαίνειν is also used in both these senses, of a financial report, and an appointment. The Attic idiomatic use of ἀποδεικνύναι, ἀποφαίνειν, to *make* or *render*, is rare in Hdt., but cf. III. 134, ὥς μιν ἰώμενος ὑγίεια ἀπέδεξε.

9. τετρακόσια τάλαντα ἀργυρίου. "A sum not far short of the whole annual revenue received by Athens from her allies under the rating of Aristides." (R.)! The 400 talents are estimated as equal to nearly £100,000 of our coinage, though comparisons of this sort are apt to be misleading; cf. ch. 28 n.

119 1. ὥς δὲ παραπλησῶς. The pleonasm is probably formed on the analogy of ὥσαντῶς from ὁ αὐτός. Stein compares ὥς δὲ—τοιαῦτα, III. 13; ὡσαύτως—ταῦτά, III. 99; ὡσαύτως—τὴν ὁμοίην, VI. 62.

3. τοιόνδε τι. Refers to the following description, τοῦτο μὲν, κ.τ.λ. οἷα to be taken closely with the participle; cf. ch. 6, οἷα ἐπιθυμητῆς ἔων, and ch. 23 (12) n.

9. τιμῆς, 'at a high price'. τιμὴ and ἀξία both mean cost or price, the former drawing attention to the amount of the sum, the latter to the worth of the article. Hence, while both

τίμιος and ἄξιος signify valuable, τίμιος has the special sense of *dear* (cf. III. 23), ἄξιος of *cheap*, i.e. well worth the price.

11. ἐς ὑποδοχὰς τοῦ στρατοῦ. Thucyd. has ἐς ὑποδοχὴν τοῦ στρατεύματος in a very different sense, of a hostile reception, VII. 74.

13. ποτήριά τε καὶ κρητῆρας. ποτήρια, the several drinking cups; κρητῆρ, the general mixing bowl.

ἐποιεύντο. Causative, 'they caused to be made'; cf. ch. 100, ἀπογραφόμενος.

15. τοῖσι ὁμοσίτοισι. To be ὁμόσιτος (i.q. σύσιτος, ὁμοτράπεζος) with the King was granted as a special honour to Democedes, the physician, III. 132, and Histiaeus, V. 24.

17. μῦθνα, sc. ἐπεποίητο. τασσόμενα with τὰ ἐς φορβήν.

ὅκως δὲ ἀπίκουτο ἡ στρατιή, 'whenever the army arrived anywhere;' cf. ch. 6 (24) n. Notice the iterative tenses, corresponding to the opt. of indefinite frequency; cf. ch. 41.

ὅκως, or ὅπως, for ὁπότε, esp. with optat. of indef. freq., is common in Hdt., and found in Homer and Attic poetry.

18. ἐς τήν, pregnant; cf. ch. 37 (9) n. For σταθμ. ποιε. cf. ch. 58 (6) n.

21. ὥρη. Cf. 50 (26) n.

δεκόμενοι ἔχεσκον πόνον, 'would busy themselves in entertaining them'. Cf. I. 150, τὰ αἰπόλια συναλίσσας ἔθυε κ. παρεσκεύαζε ὡς δεξόμενος τὸν Περσέων στρατόν.

23. τὰ ἔπιπλα. A wide term, including all moveable property.

ἀνασπᾶσαντες—οὕτω ἀπελαύνεσκον, 'would not march off, till they had'. οὕτω frequently points back to a participle or temporal clause, and may mean either simply, 'this being the case', 'under these circumstances', or, as here, 'then and not till then', Lat. *tum demum*; cf. ch. 2, 155, 170, VIII. 61 etc.

2. ἔπος εὖ εἰρημένον, a 'bon mot'.

120

9. σῖτον αἰρέσθαι. Cf. IV. 128, σῖτα ἐκάστοτε ἀναιρεομένοισι, and Hom. δόρπον or δείπνον ἐλέσθαι.

παρέχειν κ.τ.λ. 'It would have lain before them to', i.e. would have been their fate. παρέχει impers. usually means 'it is possible'; cf. VIII. 30, 75, 100.

The Oratio Obliqua expresses the belief of Megacreon.



10. ὁμοία. Ch. 118.

13. ὁμοίως, 'none the less'.

121 2. τὸν ναυτικὸν στρατόν. Subject to ὑπομένειν. Cf. ch. 124. τοῖσι στρατηγοῖσι, to the commanders (of the fleet).

στρατηγὸς (στρατὸς, ἄγω) is not necessarily a military term any more than στρατὸς is necessarily an army; the original meaning of the latter word is 'multitude', 'host'. This sense is clear in Pindar, whose λάβρος στρατὸς is the 'fierce democracy', as distinguished from τυραννὶς on the one hand and οἱ σοφοὶ (aristocracy) on the other.

3. ἀπῆκε πορεύεσθαι. Cf. ch. 51 (6) n. 'Dismissed the fleet to sail' (for sailing).

4. Θέρμη δὲ κ.τ.λ. 'viz. Therma etc.' For the explanatory δὲ, cf. ch. 8, Ἀρισταγόρῃ τῷ Μιλησίῳ δούλῳ δὲ ἡμετέρῳ. Aesch. Pers. 152, μήτηρ βασιλέως, βασιλεία δ' ἐμή.

The name Therma was afterwards changed to Thessalonica.

6. συντομώτατον, 'the shortest way'; cf. v. 17, ἔστι... σύντομος (sc. ὁδός), and iv. 136, τὰ σύντομα τῆς ὁδοῦ.

9. τρεῖς μοίρας δασάμενος. Cognate acc. With verbs of dividing, four constructions are used:—

(1) with a prep.; cf. iv. 148, σφέας αὐτοὺς ἐς ἑξ μοίρας διεῖλον.

(2) with acc. of the parts, gen. of that divided, i. 94, δύο μοίρας διελόντα Λυδῶν πάντων.

(3) with double acc. (one being cognate), as here. Pl. Pol. 283 D, διέλωμεν αὐτὴν δύο μέρη.

(4) with cogn. acc. replaced by an adverb, iii. 39, τριχῇ δασάμενος τὴν πόλιν.

13. τριτημορίς, common form τριτημόριον.

τὴν μεσόγαιαν, sc. ὁδόν. Cf. ch. 124, τὴν μεσόγαιαν τῆς ὁδοῦ. v. 83, τῆς χώρας, a parallel constr. to τὸν πολλὸν τοῦ χρόνου. Although, like many others, used substantivally in the fem., the word is properly an adj. (cf. βαθύγαιος, Att. βαθύγειος, λεπτόγειος). Cf. i. 145, μεσόγαιοι οἰκέουσι. The acc. here is therefore cognate, like τὸ μέσον (=τὴν μέσην ὁδόν) infra.

17. παρίχετο. Cf. ch. 61 (10) n.

122 8. κάμπτων. Lit. making a bend round, here 'doubling'

(the cape), *supra* ch. 58, 'sailing round' (the bay). Frequently of turning round the post in a race-course; cf. Aesch. Ag. 344, *κάμψαι διαύλον θάτερον κῶλον πάλιν*.

10. *παρελάμβανε*, 'received in succession'; the tense marks repetition.

11. *Ὀλυνθον*. Of these cities by far the most famous was the ill-starred Olynthus, now in the hands of the Bottiaean, but soon to be given over to the Chalcidians, viii. 127, who afterwards fortified it as their capital, at the instance of Perdiccas. The independence of the city was secured by Brasidas, and the influence it subsequently gained moved the jealousy of Sparta, with which it warred 382—379 B.C. In 348, after its celebrated resistance, Olynthus met its fate at the hands of Philip of Macedon.

12. *Σιθωνίη*. Horace and Virgil use 'Sithonian', generally, for 'Thracian'.

4. *ἀνέχει*, 'juts out', i.e. *προέχει, πρόκειται*.

123

6. *Ποτιδαίης*. A Corinthian colony, famous for its revolt from Athens B.C. 432.

7. *Σκιώνης*. This town was, according to tradition, founded by Pellenians from the Peloponnese, stranded here on their return from Troy; its citizens joined Brasidas, Thucyd. iv. 120, as well as those of Mende, an Eretrian colony. Sanè must be distinguished from the other town of that name.

9. *Φλέγγην*. The scene of the legendary contest between Heracles and the giants, Pindar N. i. 100.

14. *Λίπαξος—Αἰνεία*. Places of small importance; the foundation of the last was ascribed to Aeneas, Livy xi. 4.

15. *Κροσσαίη*. The *Κρονσις* of Thucyd. ii. 79.

18. *τὸν Θερμαῖον κόλπον*. Hdt. uses the name in a more confined sense than most writers.

22. *Ἀξιον*. Cf. Il. ii. 850, *Ἀξιοῦ, οὗ κάλλιστον ὕδωρ ἐπικίδναται αἶαν*.

23. *Βοττιαῖδα*. The inhabitants of this tract had been driven out by the Macedonians, to take refuge on the borders of Chalcidice and Pallene, viii. 127; Thucyd. ii. 99.

24. *Πέλλα*. Pella, which became the capital of Macedonia under Philip, lay inland; Ichnae, probably, on the coast.

- 124 4. ἐστρατοπεδεύετο, 'lay at anchor'. Cf. viii. 94, for στρατόπεδον, fleet.
5. τὴν μεσόγαιαν τάμνων τῆς ὁδοῦ. Cf. ch. 121 (13) n.
8. Κρηστωνικῆς, the Γρηστωνία of Thucyd. ii. 99.
- 125 1. οἱ. Cf. ch. 16 (3) n.
4. ἦθεα. Ch. 10 (83) n.
5. οἱ δέ. Ch. 6 (28) n.
6. ἐκεράϊζον. The word has a wide meaning, being also used of ravaging dwellings, disabling ships, and carrying off plunder.
8. τὸ...αὐτοῦ. For construction cf. 59 (5) n.
- 126 1.λέοντες—ἄγριοι. The lions and 'bonasi', or wild oxen, of this district are mentioned by Aristotle, the lions within the very same limits.
3. φοιτέοντα, in trade. Cf. ch. 23 (23) n.
7. τῆς ἔμπροσθεν Εὐρώπης. Herodotus the Halicarnassian regards Europe as approached from the east.
- 127 4. τοσήνδε, explained by ἀρξάμενος—'Αλιάκμονος. Cf. ch. 36 (4) n. (Stein).
8. τὸ ὕδωρ συμμίσγοντες. This is no longer the case: the channels have shifted, and the Lydias now joins the Axios.
12. ἐπέλιπε. Ch. 43 n.
- 128 2. τὸν τε Οὐλύμπον κ.τ.λ. 9754 and 6398 ft. high respectively. Both mountains are plainly visible from Therma on a clear day, and present a striking appearance. Below, αὐλῶνα στεινὸν is the famous gorge of Tempe, proverbial for its beauty.
9. Περραιβούς. Mentioned by Thucyd., iv. 78, as ὑπήκοοι ὄντες Θεσσαλῶν.
- Γόννον πόλιν. Mentioned by Livy as a position of great strength, *in ipsis faucibus saltus, quae Tempe appellantur, situm*, xxxvi. 16.
10. ἀσφαλέστατον εἶναι. Cf. ch. 121, ταύτη γὰρ ἐπὶν-θάνετο συντομώτατον εἶναι.
- ὥς δὲ κ.τ.λ., cf. viii. 64. The idiom is very common in both Thucyd. and Hdt. ὥς in the first clause is answered by ταῦτα, instead of οὕτω, in the second.
- The imperf. is 'inceptive', 'he set about doing'.

11. ἑσβάς. For the asyndeton cf. ch. 8 (25). ἑσβάς κ.τ.λ. is exegetical of ἐποίησε ταῦτα.

16. ἐν θωύματι μεγάλῳ ἐνέσχετο. 'He was possessed with etc.' Cf. viii. 135, ἐν θωύματι ἔχεσθαι. Also without preposition viii. 52, ἀπορίῃσι ἐνέχεσθαι. Or with ὑπὸ and the gen.; cf. ch. 233, ὑπ' ἀναγκαίης ἐχόμενοι, and even with περὶ, iii. 50, περὶ θυμῷ ἐχόμενος.

18. ἔστι=ἔξεστι. Cf. ii. 160, (ἐκέλευον)...Ἡλείων μηδενὶ εἶναι ἀγωνίζεσθαι.

2. ὥστε συγκεκλημένην. Cf. ch. 23 n.

4. ἔχοντα, 'stretching'. Cf. i. 64, ἐπ' ὅσον ἐποψίς τοῦ ἱροῦ εἶχε.

9. τὸ μέσον. Cf. ch. 11, τὸ μέσον οὐδὲν τῆς ἔχθρης ἐστί.

10. κοίλῃ. Cf. viii. 13, τὰ Κοῖλα τῆς Εὐβοίης, and the expressions κοίλῃ Λακεδαιμῶν, κοῖλον Ἄργος, referring to their low-lying sites.

16. οὐνομαζόμενοι, 'with distinctive names', opp. to ἀνωγμους. So infra οὐνομάζεσθαι. Tr.: 'These rivers then, flowing down, each with its special name, from the mountains enclosing Thessaly, to meet in the plain, discharge into the sea with united streams through a single, and that a narrow, channel'. The sense is somewhat obscured by the three consecutive participles without conjunction.

24. τὴν Βοιβηίδα λίμνην. "Lake Boebeis is the modern Lake Karla,...has no outlet to the sea, and varies greatly in its dimensions at different seasons, being derived chiefly from the overflowing of the Peneus" (R.)

οὔτε—τε. Cf. ch. 8 (8) n. Here the meaning of οὔτε—τε is rather different, 'were not (named) and yet (flowed etc.)'.

27. Ποσειδέωνα. The statement of Hdt. regarding the Thessalian belief is confirmed by the scholiast on Pind. P. iv. 138, who refers Poseidon's name Πετραῖος to his action in Tempe.

30. τὴν γῆν σελειν, as declared in the titles ἐννοσίγαιος, ἐνοσίχθων, σεισίχθων, τινάκτωρ γαίας.

32. ἔστι γὰρ σεισμῳ...οὐρέων. The view of Hdt., and the tradition that Thessaly was at one time a lake, is in accordance with modern scientific ideas.



130 4. ποταμῷ τούτῳ. For the omission of the article, by no means common, cf. ch. 49, στρατὸν τοῦτον. viii. 65, στρατιῆς τῆσδε, which occur, as here, in a conversation.

5. αὐτῇ, 'only'. Cf. ch. 49 (10) n.

8. ταῦτ' ἄρα, 'That then was the reason why'; further explained by καὶ τᾶλλα καὶ ὅτι κ.τ.λ. Cf. Ar. Ach. 90, ταῦτ' ἄρ' ἐφενάκιζες, and esp. Eq. 125, ταῦτ' ἄρ' ἐφυλάττου πάλαι—τὸν χρησ-μὸν ὀρρωδᾶν, where ἐφυλάττου is used absolutely, as here ἐφυλά-ξαντο, 'shewed caution'. See Shilleto, De Falsa Leg. p. 208.

γνωσιμαχέοντες, 'forcing themselves to a confession of their inferiority', doing violence to their feelings (always implying submission); it is hardly possible to give the full meaning more concisely. Cf. viii. 29, where μὴ ὅμοιοι εἶναι is added in explanation; cf. also iii. 25, ἐγνωσιμάχεε καὶ ἀπῆγε ὀπίσω τὸν στρατὸν. Eur. Heracl. 706, χρὴ γνωσιμαχεῖν σὴν ἡλικίαν 'confess you are too old to fight'; Ar. Av. 555, κἄν μὴ εὐθύς γνωσιμαχήσῃ, πόλεμον πρωιδᾶν [χρῇ], 'if he does not yield to our demands'.

10. πρῆγμα ἂν ᾔν μοῦνον, 'the only thing necessary would have been'. Cf. ch. 12 (4) n., and for similar use of ἔργον i. 17, ἐπέδρης μὴ εἶναι ἔργον.

13. ῥέεθρων, 'channels'. Cf. ch. 43. τούτων, 'from those', must be supplied before δι' ὧν.

14. ὑπόβρυχα. Irregular acc. from ὑπόβρυχος. Cf. Od. v. 319, τὸν δ' ἄρ' ὑπόβρυχα θῆκε, similar to the Homeric acc. δί-πτυχα fr. δίπτυχος. ὑποβρύχιος is the commoner form; cf. i. 189. Some of the mss. here read ὑποβρυχέα, as if fr. nom. ὑποβρυχῆς.

ἔχοντα ἐς. Cf. ch. 143, ἐς Ἀθηναίους εἶχε τὸ ἔπος εἰρημένον. viii. 144, τὴν προνοίην τὴν ἐς ἡμέας ἔχουσαν.

15. τοὺς Ἀλεύεω παῖδας. Ch. 6 n.

17. δοκέων ἀπὸ παντὸς κ.τ.λ. Xerxes was mistaken, chs. 172—4.

131 3. ἔκειρε, 'was clearing' (of trees, etc.), commonly of a destroying army, viii. 32, 65.

5. οἱ ἀποπεμφθέντες, from Sardis, ch. 32.

132 2. Θεσσαλοὶ—Πλαταιέων. All these tribes were members of the Delphian Amphictyony or Sacred League.

6. ἐπὶ τούτοις, 'against these'. Cf. ch. 148, συνωμόται ἐπὶ τῷ Πέρσῃ.

ἕταμον ὄρκιον. Cf. IV. 201, IX. 26. τέμνειν (σφάγια), to sacrifice (victims, in confirmation of a covenant), came to be used of the oath itself, and is even found with σπονδὰς, Eur. Hel. 123—5; cf. Lat. *foedus ferire*.

The reality of this oath is doubted by some writers; others refer it to a later time, after Plataea, and differ as to its purport. The fact stated by Hdt., however, is perfectly possible, since he reports the terms as general, without specification of the medising States, some of whom did not finally submit to the Persians till after Thermopylae.

9. καταστάντων—πρηγμάτων, 'when their (i.e. the confederates') cause had proved successful'. Cf. ch. 158 and VI. 105, Ἀθηναῖοι, καταστάντων σφίσι εὖ ἤδη τῶν πρηγμάτων (i.e. after Marathon). Not, as some tr., 'where their (i.e. the medising States') affairs were in good condition', to express which the perfect partic. would have been used: καταστάντων marks action and change, not a state; cf. ch. 29 n.

10. δεκατεῦσαι. Commonly translated, 'to exact a tithe from'. As Stein observes, however, this rendering would make the punishment, much more the *threat*, a mild one. He therefore expl. δεκατεῦσαι, 'to devote to the god with their goods and persons'. The expression, as applied to Thebes, became proverbial, and plainly in the stronger, not the weaker, sense; for when B.C. 371, shortly before Leuctra, Thebes had audaciously defied the power of Sparta, the general expectation of her annihilation was expressed in the saying: νῦν ἐλπὶς τὸ πάλαι λεγόμενον δὴ δεκατευθῆναι Θηβαίους, Xen. Hell. VI. 3, 20.

5. τὸ βάραθρον. Known also as τὸ ὄρυγμα, a deep pit, 133 with spikes projecting from its sides, used for the dead bodies of criminals; hence the executioner's title, ὁ ἐπὶ τῷ ὄρυγματι.

There was a similar hole at Sparta called ὁ Καιάδας, from which Aristomenes the Messenian was said to have escaped miraculously, and into which the Spartans thought of casting the corpse of Pausanias, Thucyd. I. 134.

10. ἀνεθέλητον, cf. ch. 88, and 190 n. on ἄχαρις. According to Pausanias, the deed was avenged on the family of Miltiades, the chief instigator to it.

- 134 1. δὲ ὦν. Cf. ch. 35, δὴ ὦν, and 9, δ' ὦν.  
 μῆνις. In the strict sense of divine, retributive anger. Cf. ch. 197, μῆνιν τοῦ θεοῦ. Aesch. Ag. 701, 'Ιλίφ δὲ κήδος...μῆνις ἤλασεν.
2. Ταλθυβίου. Cf. II. i. 320,  
 ἀλλ' ὃ γε (Agamemnon) Ταλθύβιόν τε καὶ Εὐρυβάτην προσέειπεν,  
 τῷ οἱ ἔσαν κήρυκε καὶ ὀτρηρῷ θεράποντε.  
 Talthybius, as the patron of heralds, would resent any outrage to the inviolability of the office. Besides the profession of the heralds (which at Athens gave its name to the family of Κήρυκες, Thucyd. viii. 53), at Sparta those of the flute-players and cooks were also hereditary! vi. 60.
7. οὐκ ἐδύνατο, sc. τὰ σφάγια. Cf. ix. 45, Μαρδονίῳ τὰ σφάγια οὐ δύναται καταθύμια γενέσθαι, and ch. 113, οὐ καλλιρῆσαι.
9. συμφορῇ χρεωμένων, 'giving way to grief'. Cf. iii. 41, ἀπικόμενος δὲ ἐς τὰ οἴκια συμφορῇ ἐχρήτο, also viii. 20.
11. εἰ, whether.
13. Σπερθίης, or Sperchis. Theocr. is believed to refer to a dirge sung in his honour, xv. 98, ἄτις καὶ Σπέρχων τὸν ἰάλεμον ἀρίστευσε.
15. ἀνήκοντες ἐς τὰ πρῶτα. Cf. viii. 111, ἐς τὰ μέγιστα ἀνήκοντας, and ch. 13.
- 135 3. πορευόμενοι γάρ. Cf. ch. 46 (7) n.
4. Ὑδάρνεα, cf. ch. 83. The office of the στρατηγός, who controlled the military forces of a province, was distinct from that of the Satrap, though the two were sometimes held by one person. R. Bk. iii., *Essay* iii. Otanes had been στρατηγός τῶν π., v. 25.
10. τὰ ἐμὰ πρήγματα, 'my fortune'.  
 ἀποβλέποντες ἐς, lit. looking away (from all else) towards, i.e. to look earnestly, or attentively at. Cf. ch. 96 (6) n., ἐξέργεσθαι.
12. δεδοξασθε—ἀγαθοί. Cf. viii. 124, and ix. 48 (Mardonius addressing the Spartans before Plataea), δεδοξασθε εἶναι ἀρίστοι. γάρ, here, anticipates the coming clause, i.e. it explains and justifies ἕκαστος...βασιλέος, cf. 142.
14. ὑπεκρίναντο. Ch. 39 n.

15. οὐκ ἐξ ἴσου γίνεται, 'is not unbiassed', is the outcome of a one-sided view.

20. οὐκ ἄν...πελέκεσι. The battle-axe was only resorted to in close and deadly combat; cf. Il. xv. 711,

οὐδ' ἄρα τοίγε

τόξων αἰκάς ἀμφὶς μένον οὐδέ τ' ἀκόντων,  
ἀλλ' οἳ γ' ἐγγύθεν ιστάμενοι, ἔνα θυμὸν ἔχοντες,  
ὀξέσι δὴ πελέκεσσι καὶ ἀξίνησι μάχοντο.

5. ἀνάγκην σφι προσφερόντων. Cf. ix. 108, βίην προσ- 136  
φέρειν. For the fact cf. Plut. Them. xxvii., βασιλεῖ οὐ πάτριον  
ἀνδρὸς ἀκροᾶσθαι μὴ προσκυνήσαντος. The courtiers were pre-  
pared for a refusal from Themistocles.

6. ὠθεόμενοι ἐπὶ κεφαλὴν, *vel si detruderentur in caput*  
(Bähr). ἐπὶ κεφαλὴν came to mean 'headlong'. Pl. Rep. 553 B,  
εὐθὺς ἐπὶ κεφαλὴν ὥθεϊ ἐκ τοῦ θρόνου.

8. ἐν νόμῳ εἶναι. Cf. i. 131, ἐν νόμῳ ποιευμένους [ἀγάλματα  
ιδρύεσθαι].

9. κατὰ ταῦτα, 'for that purpose'; cf. ii. 152, κατὰ ληΐην  
ἐκπλῶσαντες. Hom. πλάζεσθαι κατὰ ληΐδα etc.

10. λόγου τοιοῦδε ἐχόμενα. Ch. 5 (7) n.

δευτέρᾳ σφι λέγουσι...λέγουσι δὲ αὐτοῖσι ταῦτα. For the  
'epanalepsis', or resuming of the thread of the story, cf. chs.  
43 and 141.

14. ὑπὸ μεγαλοφροσύνης, cf. ch. 24. The word implies  
ostentation: Xerxes was fond of parading his actions; cf. ch.  
29, 146, 147.

16. τὰ πάντων ἀνθρώπων νόμιμα, 'the laws of humanity',  
in a very wide sense. Lat. *ius gentium*, Livy xl. 9.

17. αὐτὸς δὲ κ.τ.λ. Cf. iii. 142, ἐγὼ δὲ τὰ τῷ πέλας ἐπι-  
πλήσσω, αὐτὸς κατὰ δύναμιν οὐ ποιήσω.

1. οὕτω, expl. by ταῦτα. Σπαρτιητέων, cf. ch. 119. St. 137  
compares ch. 164, τοῦτον καὶ τοιοῦτῳ τρόπῳ ἀπικόμενον, and  
ch. 230.

7. ἐν τοῖσι θεϊότατον. A modified superlative. τοῖσι, pro-  
bably neuter, is invariable, being used with feminines, Thucyd.  
iii. 81, and has apparently become stereotyped, like ἔστιν in  
ἔστιν οἳ. It seems to be a relic of the demonstrative force of



the article (cf. ch. 6 n.), and to have meant originally 'among those', 'in that class'. The phrase is also found in Thucyd. and Pl., but in no other classic writer.

8. ὅτι...κατέσκηψε κ.τ.λ., 'as to the fact that'. Expr. in Lat. by *quod* with Indic.

10. ἐξήλθε, 'fulfilled itself', 'accomplished its end'. Cf. vi. 82, ἐξεληλυθέναι τὸν χρησμὸν τοῦ θεοῦ.

οὔτω ἔφερε. Cf. ch. 19, ἔκριναν φέρειν.

τὸ δὲ συμπεσεῖν, sc. αὐτήν. The infin. is recalled by τὸ πρῆγμα after the parenthesis.

15. ὅτι θεῖον...μήνιος, 'that the event was brought about by heaven in consequence of the wrath'.

16. οἱ γὰρ πεμφθέντες κ.τ.λ., 430 B.C. Thucyd. ii. 67. Sitalkes, mentioned iv. 80, was at this time in league with Athens, and under the influence of his brother-in-law Nymphodorus, their πρόξενος, Thucyd. ii. 29. The envoys were put to death untried, in retaliation for Spartan outrages to merchantmen and neutrals; Aristetas, as having instigated the revolt of Potidaea.

23. Ἀδειμάντου, probably the same mentioned viii. 59, 61, 94.

138 1. ἐπάνειμι δὲ κ.τ.λ. Cf. ch. 239.

2. στρατηλασίη. Here and viii. 140, armament; properly campaign, as ch. 14 στρατιῆς ἔλασις.

οὔνομα μὲν εἶχε. So in Engl. colloquially, 'to have the name of being'.

3. ἐπ' Ἀθήνας. Cf. ch. 8, τὸ στράτευμα τὸ ἐπὶ τὰς Ἀθήνας, Aesch. Pers. 233.

3. κατίετο, 'was coming down upon', an unusual expression, though the simple ἔσθαι is common, in the sense of hastening towards, vi. 112, δρόμῳ ἔεντο ἐπὶ τοὺς βαρβάρους. Hom. ἰέμενος Τροίηνδε etc.

5. ἐν ὁμοίῳ ἐποιεῦντο. Ch. 1 (6) n.

7. τῷ Πέρσῃ. Cf. Lat. use of *Romanus* etc. in sing.

12. ἀντάπτεσθαι τοῦ πολέμου, 'to take an active part in the war'. Cf. Thucyd. viii. 97, ἀνθάπτεσθαι τῶν πραγμάτων. v. 61, ἄπτεσθαι τοῦ πολέμου.

139 1. ἀναγκαλὴ ἐξέργομαι. Cf. ch. 96.

2. ἐπίφθονον...πρός κ.τ.λ., 'offensive to', that will excite jealousy on the part of (πρός) the majority.

4. ἐπισχήσω, intr. 'restrain myself', 'hold silence'. Cf. v. 51, λέγειν μιν ἐκέλευε μηδὲ ἐπισχεῖν τοῦ παιδίου εἵνεκα. Cf. also viii. 23 etc.

8. ἐπειρῶντο ἀντιεύμενοι, 'would have made the attempt, and opposed themselves'. The attempt *consists in* offering opposition. So too ch. 9, ἐπειρήθην ἐλαύνων means *not* 'I tried to march', but 'I made the trial, and marched'. Cf. i. 177, ἐπειράτο ἐπιών. ii. 73, πειρᾶσθαι φορέοντα.

From these must be distinguished the cases where the pres. partic. itself has a 'tentative' meaning (i.e. of trying and not necessarily succeeding); cf. ch. 168; so in ch. 148, πειρήσονται παραλαμβάνοντες means 'will make the attempt and try to win over', and ch. 172, μηχανεύμενοι, 'set about devising'. Cf. also vi. 5, κατιών. 9, ἀποσχίζων. 50, συλλαμβάνων. ix. 26, κατιόντες. 53, πείθοντες. In these latter cases πειρ. with the partic. has almost exactly the same meaning as πειρ. with infinitive, for which cf. v. 85, vi. 130.

10. κατὰ γε ἄν. ἄν with ἐγίνετο, as *infra* ἄν with ἀπέθανον.

11. τευχέων κιθῶνες, lit. defences in the shape of walls. For κιθῶν, a covering, protection of any sort, see Xen. Conv. iv. 38, πάνυ μὲν ἀλεεινοὶ χιτῶνες οἱ τοῖχοί μοι δοκοῦσιν εἶναι, and cf. Hdt. i. 181, where θώρηξ is used in the same way, τοῦτο μὲν δὴ τὸ τεῖχος θώρηξ ἐστί.

12. ἦσαν ἐληλαμένοι. Cf. i. 185, κρηπίδα ἥλασε. i. 180, τὸ τεῖχος ἐλήλαται etc.

13. προδοθέντες ἄν κ.τ.λ. ἄν with both προδοθέντες and ἐμουνώθησαν, which are closely joined (= προεδόθησαν ἄν κ. ἐμουνώθησαν ἄν). Below, on the contrary, ἄν with ἀπέθανον only, μουνωθέντες κ. ἀπ. forming the protasis, 'when left alone, and when they had...'. ἄν is often thus placed early in a hypothetical sentence, apart from the word it influences, in order to prepare the reader's mind for, and give prominence to, the coming apodosis, which is the most emphatic clause. In such cases it is often repeated, as in the next sentence ἢ πρὸ τοῦ κ.τ.λ., where both ἄν's belong to ἐχρήσαντο. νῦν δέ, where both go with ἀμαρτάνοι, Gdw. § 42, N. 1.

18. πρὸ τοῦ, another trace of the article as demonstrative. Cf. ch. 6.

20. ἐπ' ἀμφοτέρα, 'in either case'. Cf. VIII. 22, ἐπ' ἀμφοτέρα νοέων, 'with a view to both contingencies'; IX. 97, ἐπ' ἀμφοτέρα ἐπιλεγόμενοι.

26. τὸ ἀληθές, adv. 'in truth'. Cf. Pl. Phaed. 102 B, ὁμολογεῖς τὸ ὑπερέχειν οὕτω καὶ τὸ ἀληθές ἔχειν. Cf. τὸ παλαιόν, τῶρχαίον etc.

27. ἔμελλε. Ch. 23 n.

31. μετὰ γε θεοῦς, with αὐτοὶ οὗτοι. Engl. 'under God'.

33. καταμείναντες...δέξασθαι, 'they had the courage to stand firm and receive'. The aorist partic. marks the *decision* to remain, a single act.

140 1. θεοπρόπους. Att. θεωροί.

3. τὰ νομιζόμενα. The sacrifice of an ox, goat, or sheep was required. The μέγαρον, or ἄδυτον, was the inner sanctuary, containing the tripod and statue of the god.

7. λιπών, governing δώματα—κάρηνα. The sing. is used, because the Athenian people are now addressed as a whole; infra the return to the pl. and dual shews that the two envoys are again in the priestess's mind. The abrupt changes are characteristic of the impetuous haste with which the warning was uttered.

φεῦγ' ἔσχατα γαίης, 'flee to the ends of the earth'. The acc. of *motion to* is very bold after φεῦγ', which so often takes an acc. of that *fled from*, but this constr. is used very freely in poetry with other verbs of motion. Cf. Soph. O. C. 378, τὸ κοῖλον Ἄργος βάς. Tr. 259, ἔρχεται πόλιν τὴν Εὐρυτείαν. Il. I. 322, ἔρχεσθον κλισίην etc.

8. τροχοειδέος. Cf. II. 170, λίμνη...ἡ τροχοειδὴς καλεομένη. The ancient walls of Athens appear to have formed a rough circle. Cf. I. 98, τὸν Ἀθηνέων κύκλον.

9. μένει ἔμπεδον. Homeric; cf. II. V. 527, XIX. 33, αἰεὶ τῷδ' ἔσται χρῶς ἔμπεδος, etc. So with πόδες νέατοι, 'the sole of the foot', cf. πόδα νείατον Ἰδης, νείατος ὤμος, etc.

For 'Prophetic present' cf. ch. 6 (21) n.

10. μέσσης, sc. πόλιος.

11. ἄζηλα πέλει. The n. pl. includes all the parts enu-

merated, and its vagueness suits the oracular style. ἄζηλα, for which Lobeck gives ἀτδηλα, is often used (by *litotes*) in a very strong sense. Deianira, charged with her husband's murder, calls it ἄζηλον ἔργον (Soph. Tr. 245).

12. Συριηγενὲς ἄρμα διώκων. Cf. Aesch. Pers. 85 ('*Asias* ἄρχων), πολύχειρ καὶ πολυναύτας Σύριόν θ' ἄρμα διώκων ἐπάγει... τοξόδαμνον Ἄρη. For Σύριος see ch. 63 n.

διώκων has here its primary sense of 'speeding', 'making to haste'; cf. Od. xii. 182, ῥίμφα διώκοντες (νῆα). Aesch. Eum. 403, διώκουσ' ἦλθον ἄτρυντον πόδα.

15. ῥεούμενοι. This form is not found elsewhere; ἐρρείτο occurs Eur. Hel. 1602. The only passive forms common are ῥυήσομαι and ἐρρύην.

16. κατὰ...κέχυται. Tmesis for κατακέχυται. In prose a *Gen.* (not *Dat.*) is used of the object *over which*; cf. iv. 62, καταχέουσι τὸ αἷμα τοῦ ἀκινάκεος. Similar portents are related to have foreshadowed the Hannibalic War and other great times of disaster; cf. Livy xxi. 1.

17. προΐδόν. Apparently with the sense of προφαῖνον (Stein).

κακότητος ἀνάγκας, 'the straits of woe'; for this meaning of κακότης cf. vi. 67, ἡ μυρίας κακότητος ἢ μυρίας εὐδαιμονίης. In ch. 168 it is cowardice, οὐδεμιῇ κακότητι λειφθῆναι τῆς ναυμαχίας.

18. κακοῖς δ' ἐπικίδνατε θυμὸν, 'shroud your hearts in woe', lit. 'spread-over your heart with ills'. The expression is perhaps purposely obscure; some translate, 'offer a brave heart to your ills'; but the other rendering seems more in accordance with the general tenor of the oracle, which offers no hope, and only counsels flight. Cf. Grote ch. 39.

ἐπικίδναται, pass. only, is found in Il. ii. 850, with an acc. following, ὕδωρ ἐπικίδναται αἶαν.

2. συμφορῇ...ἐχρέωντο. Cf. ch. 134 (9) n.

προβάλλουσι δὲ σφέας αὐτοὺς, 'giving themselves up to despair'; cf. the expression 'prostrated by grief'.

3. ὑπὸ τοῦ κακοῦ. Cf. ch. 22 (6) n.

5. ὁμοῖα τῷ μάλιστα. Cf. ch. 118 (8) n.

6. ἱκετηρίας, olive branches twined with white wool, which



were laid on the altar, but removed again if the suppliant's petition was granted. See Jebb on Soph. O. T. 3.

λαβοῦσι...ἐλθόντας. For the change of case cf. ch. 95 (11) n.

13. ταῦτα δὲ λέγουσι, cf. ch. 136 (13).

ἢ πρόμαντις, cf. ch. 111 (9) n.

16. ἀδάμαντι πελάσσας, lit. 'having brought it near to adamant', i.e. into connexion with adamant, which is the special metal for nails and rivets. The sense is therefore: 'having established it firmly'.

For this peculiar meaning of πελάζειν cf. Hes. Op. 431, (ἐλυμα) γόμφοισι πελάσσας, 'having brought near to bolts', i.e. γομφώσας. Aesch. P. V. 154, δεσμοῖς ἀλύτοις ἀγρίως πελάσσας, 'having brought into contact with bonds', i.e. having bound.

For ἀδάμας, iron of peculiar strength, and its special use in bonds, cf. Pind. P. iv. 71, ἀδάμαντος δῆσεν ἄλοις. Aesch. P. V. 6, ἀδαμαντίνων δεσμών. Ib. 64, ἀδαμαντίνου σφηνός. Hor. *adaman-tinos clavos*.

Others translate: 'having brought it to adamant', i.e. making it like adamant.

With the whole line cf. the Homeric ἀλλ' ἔκ τοι ἐρέω, τὸ δὲ καὶ τελέεσθαι ὄτω.

The masc., πελάσσας, shews that the words are Apollo's.

17. Κέκροπος οὖρος, probably 'the limits of Attica', which Cecrops, the legendary founder of Athenian monarchy, divided into 12 parts; though of these the Acropolis in particular bore his name. For other possible meanings, cf. ch. 220 (20) n.

18. Κιθαιρώνος ζαθέιο. Sacred to Zeus and Dionysus.

19. Τριτογενεῖ. The name Tritogenes or Tritogeneia is commonly derived from the river Triton in Boeotia, though Hdt. tells us, iv. 180, that Athene was worshipped near Lake Tritonis in Libya, as the child of Poseidon and the lake.

21. μηδὲ σύ γ'...μένειν. The Infin. of command is especially common in Homer; cf. Il. v. 124, θαρσῶν νῦν, Διόμηδες, ἐπὶ Τρώεσσι μάχεσθαι. For examples in Hdt. cf. ch. 209; viii. 68, εἰπεῖν μοι πρὸς βασιλέα. iii. 134, σὺ δέ μοι στρατεύεσθαι. Cf. also Soph. El. 9, φάσκειν.

ἵπποσύνην here = τὴν ἵππον, properly 'horsemanship';

cf. II. xxiii. 307, ἵπποσύνas ἐδίδαξαν. xvi. 776, λελασμένος ἵπποσυνάων.

24. ἀπολεῖς δέ. The position of δέ emphasizes the vocative, which is regarded as an interjection, outside the sentence. The idiom occurs in both prose and poetry (esp. Pind.), where a fresh person is addressed. Cf. i. 115, ὦ δέσποτα, ἐγὼ δὲ ταῦτα... ἐποίησα. Pind. O. vi. 13, Ἀγησία, τὴν δ' αἶνος ἐτοῖμος. Aesch. P. V. 3, Ἡφαιστε, σοὶ δὲ χρὴ μέλειν ἐπιστολάς. Cf. also Homeric ἀτὰρ, II. vi. 429, Ἐκτορ, ἀτὰρ σύ μοι ἐσσι.

δὲ generally follows a pers. pronoun, but not always: besides this passage, cf. i. 32; Pind. P. x. 10.

25. σκιδναμένης...συνιούσης, i.e. 'at seed time or harvest'. Δημήτερος = Δημήτερος ἀκτῆς. Cf. Virg. G. i. 297, *rubicunda Ceres medio succiditur aestu*; Hor. Od. iii. 24, 13 etc.

συνιούσης, 'being gathered in'. Cf. iv. 1, χρημάτων μεγάλων συνιόντων.

2. συγγραψάμενοι. It was customary to copy the replies 142 of oracles into tablets, δέλτοι. Cf. viii. 135, ἀπογραφομένους τὰ θεσπίειν ἔμελλε. Soph. Tr. 1165, ᾧ (μαντεῖα) Σελλῶν ἐσελθὼν ἄλσος εἰσεγραψάμην. Ar. Av. 982, χρησμὸς...ὃν ἐγὼ παρὰ τὰ πόλλωνος ἐξεγραψάμην. Notice the variety of prepositions.

4. ἐς τὸν δῆμον, 'in the hearing of the people', i.e. before the ecclesia. Cf. viii. 26, εἰπέ τε ἐς πάντας τὰδε.

5. διζημένων, dep. on γινώμαι, though it might be taken as gen. abl. For meaning cf. ch. 103 n.

6. συνεστηκυῖαι, 'conflicting'; cf. viii. 79, συνεστηκότων τῶν στρατηγῶν, and Thucyd. vii. 71, σύστασιν γνώμης. The word denotes properly a close *mêlée* (cf. ch. 225, and so σύστασις, ch. 167), but is used in a wide sense; cf. ch. 170, viii. 74, λιμῶ, πόνῳ συστῆναι (to struggle with); ch. 144, πόλεμος συστάς.

10. κατὰ τὸν φραγμόν, 'corresponded to, tallied with the palisade'. κατὰ with acc. denotes general harmony with; cf. i. 121, πατέρα εὐρήσεις οὐ κατὰ...τὸν βουκόλον (i.e. of far higher rank); iv. 23, τῷ δένδρῳ μέγαθος κατὰ συκὴν μάλιστά κη. viii. 38, μέζοντας ἢ κατὰ ἀνθρώπων φύσιν ἔχοντας. Infra κατὰ ταῦτα τὰ ἔπεια.

15. ἔσφαλλε, 'baffled'.

19. συνεχέοντο. A favourite word of Hdt.; the chief idea is that of bringing into confusion. Cf. ch. 115, 136, viii. 99.

- 143 1. τῶν τις Ἀθηναίων. Cf. ch. 146, τῶν τινὰς δορυφόρων. VIII. 90, τῶν τινὲς Φοινίκων. This order is very common in Hdt.
3. Νεοκλέος. οὐ τῶν ἄγαν ἐπιφανῶν Ἀθήνησι, Plut. Them.
1. The mother of Themistocles was a foreigner, and this fact also would lower his natural position in the State.
6. ἐς Ἀθηναίους εἶχε. Cf. ch. 130 (14) n.
- τὸ ἔπος εἰρημένον, 'the utterance of the lines', distinguish fr. τὸ εἶρ. ἔπος, 'the uttered lines'. For ἔπος, 'saying', cf. ch. 120, 152.
7. οὕτω...ἡπίως. Cf. ch. 46 (13). μιν, i.e. τὸ ἔπος.
9. τοῦ ὦ θεῇ Σαλαμῖς. For the article with quotations, pointing to something already known, or previously stated, cf. I. 86, τὸ τοῦ Σόλωνος...τὸ μηδένα εἶναι τῶν ζώντων ὄλβιον, also ch. 27 (10) n. Lat. *illud Solonis*.
- εἴπερ γε, 'if, in very truth', 'if really'.
10. ἀλλὰ γάρ, 'but in fact', but (it is not so) for....
12. συλλαμβάνοντι. Dat. of person judging.
- ἀλλ' οὐκ, 'and not'. Cf. ch. 8 (8) n.
14. τούτου, i.e. τῶν νεῶν, supplied from ναυμαχῆσοντας.
15. ἀποφαινομένου, sc. γνώμην. Cf. VIII. 49, γνώμην ἀποφαίνεσθαι.
16. αἰρετώτερα μᾶλλον ἤ. Cf. ch. 50 (7) n.
18. ἀρτέεσθαι, i.q. παραρτέεσθαι, ch. 142; cf. VIII. 97, and ch. 8 (41) n.
- τὸ σύμπαν εἶναι, 'in a word', i.q. τὸ σύμπαν. Cf. ch. 104 (14) n.
19. ἀλλ'...οἰκίζειν, sc. ἐκέλευον. Cf. ch. 104 (24) n. These counsellors pointed, no doubt, to the example of the Phocaeans and Teians, who emigrated to Velia (in S. Italy) and Abdera, during the conquest of Ionia by Cyrus, I. 165—168. The idea was again entertained, VIII. 62.
- It has been suggested that Themistocles was himself the instigator of this oracle, but in this case the wording would have probably been less ambiguous.
- 144 3. ἡρίστευσε, 'bore the palm', usually of persons; cf. ch. 227.
4. ἐν τῷ κοινῷ. Here, 'the public treasury'; in VIII. 135, 'the State'.

5. τῶν ἀπὸ Λαυρείου, pregnant constr.; cf. ch. 37 (9) n. The silver mines of Laurium, which formed for many years one of the chief sources of Athenian revenue, were worked by private individuals, paying an annual percentage on their profits to the State. The large sum in the treasury at this time, B.C. 482, (estimated by Boeckh at over £12,000, assuming the citizens to have numbered 30,000, Hdt. v. 97) was perhaps the result of fresh activity, if not simply the accumulation of yearly rents. Cf. Grote 39, Curtius II. Ap. Note VIII.

8. πανσαμένους. On the question of previous yearly distributions, see Grote and Curtius I. c.

9. τούτων τῶν χρημάτων. Gen. of price.

ποιήσασθαι, causative; cf. ch. 100 (5) n.

δηκοσίας. 200 was probably the whole number aimed at, and only acquired by degrees. Athens had 70 ships after Marathon (VI. 132), and only 200 in 480 B.C. (VIII. 1. 14). It would be rash to conjecture how far £12,000 would have covered the expenses of such a fleet. Silver may have had a wholly different value at this period.

10. τὸν πρὸς Αἰγινήτας λέγων. Another Persian invasion was in his mind, but this did not appear sufficiently imminent to rouse the people, Plut. Them. 4.

Aegina, one of the earliest States to acquire naval power, had long been hostile to Athens, and had made war upon her at the instance of Thebes B.C. 507, v. 81—89. In retaliation, Athens induced Sparta to punish Aegina for her submission to Persia, 493 B.C., by taking hostages, whose retention in Attica caused a renewal of the war, VI. 50, 87 seqq.

11. συστάς. Cf. ch. 142 n.

13. ἐχρήσθησαν. The Passive, in this sense, is only found twice (L. and S.).

14. ἐς δέον...ἐγένοντο, 'proved a boon'; cf. I. 119, ἡ ἀμαρτὰς οἱ ἐς δέον ἐγεγόνεε (had turned out well); 186, καὶ οὕτω τὸ δρυχθὲν...ἐς δέον ἐδόκεε γεγενέσθαι.

Rather different is the use of τὸ δέον. Cf. II. 173, ἐς τὸ δέον χρᾶσθαι, to use for the proper purpose, in time of need. In Att. τὸ δέον is the technical phrase for 'secret service'.

16. προσναυπηγέσθαι. Mid.



145 1. ἐς τὸ αὐτὸ, i.e. the Isthmus; each patriotic State sent a representative, ch. 172.

τῶν περὶ...φρονεόντων. (1) If τῶν be retained, τῶν περὶ ...Ἑλλήνων='the Greeks of Greece Proper', as opposed to the Ionians, Siceliots etc.; but, as Stein remarks, in ch. 157 Ἑλλάς includes the whole Greek world. (2) Comparing ch. 172, τῶν τὰ ἀμείνων φρονεουσέων περὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα, it seems better to bracket τῶν, with Stein, and tr. 'the Greeks who were well affected to the cause of Greece'. The phrase then becomes an example of 'instalment of the attribute'; περὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα τὰ ἀμ. φρονεόντων is all 'attributive' to Ἑλλήνων, and should therefore naturally be placed between article and noun; instead of which, one portion or 'instalment' only precedes, the rest follows the noun Ἑλλήνων. To take another and simpler instance: οἱ πολῖται ἐκπεσόντες would clearly not be Greek for 'the citizens who were banished'; but, on the other hand, οἱ ἐκ τῆς πόλεως πολῖται ἐκπεσόντες, for 'the citizens who were banished from the city', is quite correct. For φρονέειν, cf. ch. 102 n.

3. διδόντων σφίσι λόγον καὶ πίστιν. διδόναι λόγον is properly to *accord*, as τυγχάνειν λόγου is to *receive* the right of speech; hence διδόναι σφίσι λόγον, 'to hold a consultation'; and in the sing. i. 34, ἑωυτῷ λόγον ἔδωκε, 'gave his mind permission to express itself' (in thought), i.e. 'consulted with himself'. διδόναι σφίσι πίστιν, 'to interchange pledges'.

8. ἐγκεκρημένοι. Reiske's conjecture for ἐγκεκρημένοι of the mss. He compares v. 124, ἐγκερασάμενος πρήγματα μεγάλα, of the Ionian Revolt.

13. πρὸς τὸν Πέρσην, 'against the P.'; but cf. Thucyd. v. 22, πρὸς τοὺς Ἀθηναίους ξυμμαχίαν ἐποιοῦντο, with the Ath.

16. εἴ κως...πάντες, 'in the hope that, etc.' ἦν with subj., or (dep. on a secondary tense) εἰ with opt., often expresses the thought in the mind of the subject, whether fear, expectation, hope or wish. The thought is in the form of a protasis, the apodosis not expressed: 'If this should happen (how terrible!)' or, 'If *only* this could be done' etc. Cf. vi. 52, βουλομένην εἴ κως ἀμφότεροι γενοίαιτο βασιλέες. viii. 6, πρόθυμοι

ἦσαν ἐπιχειρέειν, εἴ κως ἔλοιεν αὐτούς. Ib. 57, ἴθι κ. πειρῶ διαχέαι τὰ βεβουλευμένα, ἦν κως δύνῃ ἀναγνώσαι κ.τ.λ.

17. **συγκύψαντες**. Lit. 'laying their heads together', commonly of conspirators. Cf. III. 82, οἱ γὰρ κακοῦντες τὰ κοινὰ συγκύψαντες ποίεουσιν. Ar. Eq. 854, εἰς ἐν συγκεκυφός, of a conspiracy.

**πρήσσοιεν**, here, as often, 'work for', 'aim at'.

20. **οὐδαμῶν...τῶν οὐ**. οὐδαμῶν-τῶν-οὐ = πάντων by attr. for οὐδαμά (ἐστι) τῶν οὐ. Cf. οὐδεὶς ὅστις οὐ, declined as one word throughout.

8. **τοῖσι...θάνατος**. Cf. II. 133, κατακεκριμένων οἱ τούτων. 146 In I. 45 we find *σεωντοῦ καταδικάζεις θάνατον*, the common Attic constr.

15. **ἐπιδείκνυσθαι**, more than to 'shew'; 'to shew off'.

17. **πλήρεις**, 'sated'. Cf. Lat. *plenus*, Lucr. III. 959,

*et nec opinanti mors ad caput adstitit ante  
quam satur ac plenus possis discedere rerum.*

1. **ἐπιλέγων τὸν λόγον τόνδε**, 'with this explanation'. The 147 phrase is common in Hdt., cf. VIII. 49.

5. **λόγου μέζω**, 'beyond description'.

10. **σφέας**, a repetition of τοὺς Ἕλληνας. Cf. ch. 167.

**οὐδὲ δεῖσιν**, 'there would be no reason to...at all'. Cf. οὐδὲ ἀρχὴν, ch. 9.

12. **οἴκε**. *ἔοικε* also is used, cf. ch. 18.

18. **παραγγελέει**. The special term for giving the word of command; hence τὰ παραγγελλόμενα, 'military orders'.

19. **πλέοιεν**, sc. οἱ ἐν τοῖς πλοίοις.

21. **ἐκεῖ**, not unfrequently for ἐκεῖσε.

1. **ἐπὶ τῷ Πέρσῃ**. Cf. ch. 132 n.

3. **δεύτερα**, 'in the next place'; cf. ch. 18. Not 'again', as in ch. 141.

5. **αὐτίκα κατ' ἀρχὰς**, 'from the very first'. Cf. ch. 88.

10. **ὥς**, with ποιεῖσι. For ὥς = ὅπως, as indirect interrogative, cf. II. II. 3, ἀλλ' ὃ γε μερμήριζε...ὥς Ἀχιλλῆα | τιμήσῃ, and ch. 37 (13) n.

11. **νεωστὶ γὰρ κ.τ.λ.**, B.C. 494. Cleomenes, king of Sparta, had been moved by an encouraging oracle to attack the Argives,

on whom he inflicted so severe a defeat, that from scarcity of citizens, the slaves, or, according to Aristotle, the Perioeci assumed the government, vi. 78 seqq. Sparta and Argos were standing rivals in the Peloponnese, and had constant disputes over the border land of Cynuria. Argos was loath to recognise the loss of her traditional sovereignty, inherited from Agamemnon and from Temenus the eldest Heracleid.

16. τὸν προβόλαιον, 'thy spear'. Cf. ch. 76 (3). Theocritus has δούρατι προβολαίῳ, xxiv. 123.

17. κεφαλὴν. Probably the free-born Dorians are here meant, τὸ σῶμα being the rest of the populace.

19. ὥς ἐλθεῖν. For the attraction of the dependent clause into the infin., common in Hdt., see Gdw. § 92, N. 3.

δῆ, actually.

22. ποιέειν ταῦτα, i.e. τὰ λεγόμενα, what the envoys urged. τριήκοντα ἔτεα, 'for thirty years'; so with σπονδὰς ποιεῖσθαι, Thucyd. v. 97.

23. σπεισάμενοι...ἡγεόμενοι, conditional.

26. ἀποχρᾶν. Ch. 43 (5) n.

149 4. σπουδὴν δὲ ἔχειν, sc. σφέας, τοὺς Ἀργεῖους.

6. φοβεομένοισι, sc. σφι, dependent on γενέσθαι.

7. μὴ...ἐουσέων, dep. on ἐπιλέγεσθαι, reported condition. There are here two hypotheses dep. on ἐπιλέγ., i.e. μὴ...ἐουσέων, and ἦν...Πέρσῃν. It is well to notice how the constr. is relieved by the use of a participle (instead of a finite verb with εἰ or ἦν) to express the first condition.

8. ἐπιλέγεσθαι...μὴ ἔωσι. Cf. i. 77, οὐδαμὰ ἐλπίσας μὴ κοτε...ἐλάσῃ. III. 65, οὐδαμὰ ἐπιλεξάμενος μὴ...τις ἐπανασταλῇ, and VIII. 53, οὐτ' ἂν ἥλπισε μὴ κοτέ τις ἀναβαλῇ. The leading verb often only *implies* the fear which is sufficiently expressed by μὴ. This is clear from those cases where μὴ and the subj. stand alone. This latter idiom is esp. common in Pl.; cf. Gorg. 462 E, μὴ ἀγροικότερον ἢ τὸ ἀληθὲς εἰπεῖν. Phaed. 67, μὴ καθαρῶ καθαροῦ ἐφάπτεσθαι μὴ οὐ θεμιτὸν ἦ, 'I fear lest it be etc.'; and hence, 'perhaps it may be'. See Gdw. § 46, N. 4. Cf. also 145 n.

13. ἀνοίσειν ἐς τοὺς πλεῦνας, i.e. to the Assembly of Spartiatae meeting in the Eurotas Valley, who decided

questions of peace and war and other matters of importance, but had no right of discussion. For the expr. cf. III. 80, *βουλευματα πάντα ἐς τὸ κοινὸν ἀναφέρει.*

14. *αὐτοῖσι*, i.q. *αὐτοῖσι σφισι*. Cf. v. 87, *λέγουσι, αὐτῶν...* *διαφθειράντων κ.τ.λ.* and infra ch. 220, VIII. 36.

15. *καὶ δῆ*. Cf. ch. 186 n.

25. *περιέψεσθαι*. Probably in pass. sense, cf. ch. 39 (17) n. With the conduct of Argos on this occasion we may compare her neutrality during the Peloponnesian War. Her jealous dread of Sparta forced her into extreme caution.

8. *Πέρσῃν*. Cf. ch. 61 n.

11. *οὕτω...εἴημεν*. 'According to this then, we should be etc.' The idiom is like our own, and has a still closer parallel in the Scotticism, by which 'would be' means nothing more than a cautious pres. Indic.: 'Wad ye be the meenister?' 'I'd believe that.' (Are you the minister? That is true.)

If the construction be analysed, it may be explained as a conditional sentence, with protasis suppressed (or implied, as in *οὕτω*). 'If this proved true, we should turn out to be', and so with the Scotch idiom, 'If I were to inquire, would you prove to be the minister?' Cf. I. 2, *εἴησαν δ' ἂν οὗτοι Κρήτες*. Infr. ch. 180, 184, and Thucyd. I. 9, *αὐται δὲ οὐκ ἂν πολλαὶ εἴησαν*.

*οὕτε ὦν*. For the sentiment, cf. ch. 51 (8), 47 (5) n.

13. *τιμωρέοντας*. Ch. 8 (27) n.

15. *κατήσθαι*, 'to remain inactive', frequently in this sense. Cf. III. 134, *ἔχων δύναμιν τοσαύτην κάτῃσαι*. Pind. Ol. I. 83, *ἐν σκότῳ καθήμενος*, inactive and unknown. Dem. I. 42, *μέλλοντας ἡμᾶς κ. καθημένους*. Cf. *ἔξεσθε*, VIII. 22.

16. *κατὰ νόον* = *ἀνοέω* (ch. 38). Cf. ch. 104.

*ἄξω*, 'I will hold'. So, frequently in Hdt., both in Act. and Middle: I. 134, *ἐν τιμῇ ἄγονται*. II. 172, *ἐν οὐδεμιῇ μολῇ μεγάλην ἦγον*.

17. *πρῆγμα ποιήσασθαι*, 'made much of'. Cf. VI. 63, *τοῦτο ἤκουσαν μὲν* *πρῆγμα μέντοι οὐδὲν ἐποίησαντο τὸ παραντίκα*. Also III. 132, *ἦν μέγιστον πρῆγμα Δημοκίδης παρὰ βασιλεῖ*, was 'made much of'. Cf. ch. 12 (4) n.

18. *ἐπαγγελλομένους*, 'spontaneously'. Cf. ch. 1 (8) n.

19. *μεταιτίειν*, sc. *τῆς ἀρχῆς*. Cf. IV. 146, *τῆς βασιλῆως*



μεταιτέοντες. For the meaning of *μετά* cf. *infra* μεταδιδόναι. οὐδέν, adv.

ἐπεὶ... παραλαμβάνειν. Cf. ch. 148 (19) n. παραλαμβάνειν, Pres. of attempt, i.e. tentative; cf. ch. 139 (8) n. and 221, ἀποπεμπόμενος.

22. ἐπὶ προφάσιος, the emphatic words: 'that they might have a pretext for etc.' The dative is more usual.

151 1. συμπεσεῖν, 'coincide'. Cf. viii. 15; 141, of coincidence in time, καὶ δὴ συνέπιπτε ὥστε ὁμοῦ σφέων γίνεσθαι τὴν κατάστασιν.

3. πολλοῖσι ἔτεσι ὕστερον. The date and circumstances of the embassy here mentioned are uncertain. Curtius places it in 445 B.C., and holds that the Athenians were unsuccessful in their negotiations. He, with many other scholars, believes the famous Peace of Callias, or Cimon, frequently alluded to by the orators, to have been an invention devised for the glorification of Athens. See Curt. ii. 410; Grote, ch. 45.

4. γεγόμενον. Grammatically with λόγον, in sense with the subject-matter of the λόγος which means 'statement of fact' (cf. viii. 59, 65), not 'story'.

Callias, whose grandfather had been a person of high position, and a bold opponent of the Pisistratidae, vi. 121, was heavily fined for venality on his return. Dem. xix. 429.

Σούσοισι τοῖσι Μεμνονίοισι, so-called v. 53, 54. The connexion of Memnon, son of Tithonus and Eos, with Susa is not clear. He is mentioned in the *Odyss.*, and by Pind., as fighting at the head of Ethiopians at Troy (*Odyss.* iv. 188. Pind. P. vi. 30. N. iii. 62), and as the slayer of Antilochus.

9. ἐρωτᾶν, Imperfect. So *infra* φάναι.

10. εἰ... ἐμμένει... ἢ νομιζόλατο. Notice the change of mood. Gdw. § 70, 2, R. 1. If any distinction in meaning can be drawn, it is perhaps that the Indic. expresses what the Argives wished and hoped to be a fact, the Optat. that which they preferred to regard as a remote possibility.

11. συνεκράσαντο. Cf. iv. 152, φιλῖαι μεγάλαι συνεκρήθησαν. The expression is uncommon.

13. μάλιστα, 'certainly'. μάλιστά γε, or καὶ μάλιστα, is a common form of affirmation. The modern Greek μάλιστα is the regular word for *yes*.

8. τὰ οἰκήτῃα κακά, 'their own evil deeds'.

9. τοῖσι πλησίοισι, i.e. τοῖσι τῶν πλησίων. Cf. ch. 23 (21) n. The gen. 'of price' is commoner than the dative with verbs of exchange. The dat. is instrumental, the price being the *instrument* by which the purchase is effected.

12. οὕτω δὴ κ.τ.λ. This quaintly expressed statement is intended to take the edge off the coming insinuation (ἐπεὶ καὶ κ.τ.λ.) against Argos, while aiming a side thrust at Thebes and other unpatriotic States. If the Argives could scrutinise their neighbours' performances, they would be readier to bear their own load of guilt, and would not feel in an isolated position.

Hdt. evidently suspected the worst of Argos, and is all the more careful to preserve strict impartiality. He states both views of the case, and then leaves the reader to judge for himself.

14. παντάπασι, 'unconditionally', 'without reserve'.

καὶ μοι τοῦτο κ.τ.λ. Cf. II. 123, ἐμοὶ δὲ παρὰ πάντα τὸν λόγον ὑπόκειται ὅτι τὰ λεγόμενα ὑπ' ἐκάστων ἀκοῇ γράφω. Hdt. is a thoroughly conscientious historian: he is always careful to distinguish fact, or what he believes to be fact, from mere rumour.

16. ὥς ἄρα, 'that in reality', introducing an unexpected conclusion. Cf. Pl. Theaet. 152 D, ὥς ἄρα ἐν μὲν αὐτὸ καθ' αὐτὸ οὐδὲν ἐστι.

18. ἡ αἰχμῇ, 'the war'; cf. v. 94, [Σίγειον] εἶλε αἰχμῇ. Cf. αἰχμάλωτος, ὁμαιχμή etc., and the similar use of δόρυ. Soph. Aj. 963, ἐν χρεῖα δορός.

19. πρὸ, sooner than, i.e. 'rather than'.

2. συμμῖζοντες. Common in this neuter sense of 'having an interview with'; cf. VIII. 67, 79; also used transitively VIII. 58, θέλειν οἱ κοινόν τι πρῆγμα συμμῖξαι, communicate.

5. οἰκῆτωρ ὁ ἐν Γέλῃ. Lit. 'the colonist at Gela', i.e. the first of the family to settle at Gela. οἰκῆτωρ can mean both 'colonist' (cf. II. 103. Thucyd. II. 27) and 'inhabitant' (infra).

6. κτιζομένης Γέλης κ.τ.λ. Cretans joined in the foundation of the colony, which took place 44 years after that of Syracuse, B.C. 690, Thucyd. VI. 4.

8. ἐλείφθη. Ch. 8 n.

9. τῶν χθονίων θεῶν. Demeter and Persephone; cf. vi. 134. *ιροφάντης* was the title of the priest of these goddesses, who performed the rite of initiation at the Attic Eleusinia.

10. κτησαμένου, sc. τὴν *ιροφαντίαν*.

13. κατήγαγε. The special term for *restoring* from exile, as *κατέρχεσθαι* is for *returning*, *ἐκπίπτειν* (ch. 155) for *being exiled*.

15. *ἱρὰ*, probably sacred images or symbols. Cf. i. 60, the restoration of Pisistratus through similar agency.

17. ἐπ' ᾧ τε...ἔσονται. The Infinitive is the commoner constr., cf. ch. 154; the Indic. is rare, except in Hdt. and Thucyd.

19. πρὸς τὰ πυνθάνομαι, 'in connexion with what I am told' (i.e. ὁ δὲ λέγεται κ.τ.λ.). τοῦτο, i.e. *κατεργάσασθαι*—*τοσοῦτον*.

21. τοῦ ἅπαντος. The use of the article here is remarkable; it usually gives a collective idea, when found before *πάν*. Cf. ch. 53, οἱ σύμπαντες. i. 132, τοῖσι ἅπασι Πέρσησι, 'the whole body of Persians'. Here the exact meaning seems to be, 'the typical anybody', like ὁ τυχῶν, ὁ σῶφρων, ch. 104 (11) n.; also i. 51, τὸ συντυχὸν ἔργον.

νενόμικα, I have (once and for all) formed the opinion, 'I consider', 'it is my settled opinion that'. Cf. viii. 79. So *πέποιθα*, *πέπεισμαι*.

22. ψυχῆς ἀγαθῆς, 'of a high spirit'. Cf. v. 124, ἦν... *ψυχὴν οὐκ ἄκρος*, *δς...δρησµὸν ἐβούλενε*.

154 5. ἀναλαμβάνει, 'assume', usually 'recover'. Cf. iii. 73, *ἀναλαβεῖν* (τὴν ἀρχὴν) = *ἀνασώσασθαι*.

μουναρχίην. A general term, including the hereditary *βασιλεία* as well as the *τυραννίς* which was usually established by revolution, Ar. Pol. v. 10.

9. Αἰνησιδήμου, father of Thero, the future tyrant of Agrigentum, belonging to the ancient clan of Emmenidae and, according to Pind., descended from Polynices of Thebes, Ol. ii. 47.

10. Ἴπποκράτεος. Some words are missing after this name.

11. ἀπεδέχθη...εἶναι. Ch. 51 (6) n.

13. Ναξίους. Naxos, the first Greek colony in Sicily,

from which Callipolis (site uncertain) and Leontini were offshoots, was founded by Chalcidians B.C. 735, Thucyd. vi. 3.

**Ζαγκλαίους.** Also of Chalcidian origin. Their city, afterwards known as Messana, was some years later treacherously seized by Samians, abetted by Hippocrates himself, whom the subject Zancleaeans had summoned to their aid, vi. 23.

14. **τῶν βαρβάρων.** Sicels, the native race.

18. **πέφευγε.** Cobet's conjecture *ἀπέφυγε* is not improbable, though, as Stein shows, *δουλοσύνην διαφεύγειν* is the common expression in Hdt.

**πρὸς Ἰπποκράτεος,** 'at the hands of H.', depending on the verbal notion in *δουλοσύνην*. Cf. ch. 139, *ἐπίφθονον πρὸς*.

19. **Κορίνθιοι.** Both Corcyra and Syracuse were founded from Corinth B.C. 734. Corcyra very soon became hostile to the mother city. Thucyd. i. 24 etc.

20. **ἐπὶ ποταμῷ Ἐλώρῳ.** Pind., Nem. ix. 40, records the distinction gained in this battle by Chromios, a friend and connexion of Gelo's.

23. **Καμάρινα.** Camarina, founded from Syracuse B.C. 599, had revolted and been destroyed. The territory, however, was surrendered by Syracuse, Thucyd. vi. 5, and the town rebuilt by Hippocrates, to be once more razed by Gelo, ch. 156. It was finally refounded by the Geloans, and appears as the rival of Syracuse in 415 B.C. The name of the city has become famous in connexion with the oracular answer given to its inhabitants, when they proposed to drain the surrounding marshes: *Μὴ κίνει Καμάριναν · ἀκίνητος γὰρ ἀμείνων*. Cf. Virg. Aen. iii. 700, *fatis numquam concessa moveri...Camarina*. The oracle was disregarded, and the marshes were drained. The city thereby became more accessible, and fell a prey to its foes.

2. **κατέλαβε.** Cf. ch. 38.

3. **Υβλη.** A Sicel town in the interior.

8. **τῷ ἔργῳ,** pointing the contrast to *τῷ λόγῳ*, a very favourite antithesis, especially in Thucyd.

9. **ἀποστερήσας.** Here in its proper sense, i.e. *cheating*, or *defrauding of a trust*; meaning to *debar from*, rather than to *deprive of*. See Shilleto on Thucyd. i. 69.



10. τοὺς γαμόρους, the families of the original settlers, i.e. the nobles, here, as at Samos, Thucyd. viii. 21. In Attica the γεώμοροι were a middle class.

The Demus included the remainder of the free inhabitants. The Cyllyrians (Cillicyrians) were conquered and enslaved Sicels, and held a position similar to that of the Helots in Laconia and Penestae in Thessaly.

14. Κασμένης, another Syracusan colony.

15. ὁ γὰρ δῆμος. According to Aristotle, the commons were weakened by their own lawlessness, Pol. v. 2.

156 3. Γέλῃς...ἐπικρατέων. Replacing the gen. usual after λόγον ποιέεσθαι or ἔχειν. Cf. i. 13, τοῦ ἐπεὶ λόγον οὐδένα ἐποιεύντο, i. 4, etc. With the expr. here cf. i. 62, ὡς ἔσχε Μαραθῶνα, λόγον οὐδένα εἶχον.

4. Ἰέρωνι. The future Tyrant. Gelo had two other brothers, Polyzelus and Thrasybulus.

6. ἦσαν ἅπαντα αἱ Συρήκουσαι, 'S. was all in all to him'. Cf. i. 122, ἦν τε οἱ...τὰ πάντα ἡ Κυνώ. iii. 157, πάντα δὴ ἦν ἐν τοῖσι Βαβυλωνίοισι ὁ Ζώπυρος. Theocr. xiv. 47, Λύκος νῦν πάντα.

7. ἀνά τ' ἔδραμον κ. ἀνέβλαστον. As of a plant; cf. viii. 55, βλαστὸν ἀναδεδραμηκότα. II. xviii. 56 Thetis, speaking of Achilles, ὁ δ' ἀνέδραμεν ἔρνεϊ ἴσος. Cf. also Psalm cxliv. 12.

9. κατέσκαψε. Ch. 154 (23) n.

11. Μεγαρέας. Divided into τοὺς μὲν παχέας and τὸν δὲ δῆμον. Megara Hyblaea, on the E. coast, was founded by Megarians from Thapsos, Thucyd. vi. 4.

13. παχέας. Other designations of the higher classes were οἱ πλούσιοι, ἔχοντες, ἄριστοι, βέλτιστοι, ἐπιεικεῖς, χαρίεντες, καλοκάγαθοι, γνώριμοι. Cf. Cicero's 'boni'.

20. Εὐβοέας. Euboea was an offshoot of Leontini.

For Gelo's policy see Curt. vol. iii. p. 207. "Gelo desired a great city, but one without paupers; he wished for a population of as many educated and well-to-do citizens as possible, in which...the specialities of the Doric and Ionic character, and habits of life, should be reconciled with one another. Syracuse may therefore be called the first Hellenic town of first-rate importance."

23. συνοίκημα, 'companion', lit. that with which one dwells.

5. παραλαμφομένους. Cf. ch. 150, ἐπεὶ δὲ σφέας παρα- 157  
λαμβάνειν, and infr. 168, 169.

6. τὸν ἐπιόντα...πυνθάνει, i.q. περὶ τοῦ ἐπιόντος. Cf. ch. 116, τὸ ὄρυγμα ἀκούων. If the participle had been used predicatively, the constr. would have been regular. Cf. ch. 177, ἐπύθοντο τὸν Πέρσῃν ἔόντα κ.τ.λ.

8. πάντα τὸν ἡοῖον στρατόν. Cf. ch. 56, ἄγων πάντας ἀνθρώπους.

12. δυνάμιός τε ἥκεις μεγάλης, 'the power you hold is great'. ἥκειν τινός is usually found with an adv. (or adv. expression) marking the stage attained in a certain sphere or quality, e.g. πόρρω σοφίας ἥκει (he has got far on in wisdom), ἐς τοῦτο ἀμαθίας ἥ. etc. Hence, commonly, without idea of progress (like εὖ ἔχειν), εὖ ἥκειν χρημάτων, τοῦ βίου etc. 'to be well off for, in a good position as regards money' etc.

Here, instead of the adv. μέγας or εὖ, we have, by attraction, an adj. agreeing with δυνάμις. In viii. 111 both adj. and adv. are used; θεῶν χρηστῶν ἥκειεν εὖ. Reiske, Stein and Classen here emend to μέγας.

13. τῆς Ἑλλάδος. Ch. 145 n.

14. ἄρχοντί γε Σικελίης. Cf. ch. 163, ἐὼν Σικελίης τύραννος, a still stronger expression.

16. ἀλῆς μὲν γὰρ κ.τ.λ. ἡ Ἑλλάς looks like a 'pendent nominative', but can hardly be called so. The sentence is a mixture of two constructions: (1) ἀλῆς...γενομένη ἡ Ἑλλάς χεῖρ μεγάλη γίνεται, (2) ἀλεοῦς γενομένης τῆς Ἑλ. χεῖρ...συνάγεται, the confusion arising from the fact that ἡ Ἑλλάς is 'summed up' in χεῖρ μεγάλη. Cf. ch. 185, where καὶ ἀξιόμαχοι γινόμεθα follows, as though after a Gen. abs.

χεῖρ. Ch. 20 n.

25. ὥς τὸ ἐπίπαν. Ch. 50 n.

2. πολλὸς ἐνέκειτο. Cf. Thucyd. iv. 22, Κλέων πολὺς 158  
ἐνέκειτο λέγων κ.τ.λ. See also ch. 10 (37) n.

5. αὐτοὶ δὲ, 'whereas etc.'

6. συνεπάσασθαι, 'to join in attacking'.

7. ὅτε μοι. The circumstances are unknown.

νεῖκος συνήπτο. Cf. vi. 108, *συνάπτειν μάχην*.

8. Δωριεύς. Dorieus, younger brother of Cleomenes, king of Sparta, frustrated in his ambition by his brother's succession to the throne, left Sparta, and, after an unsuccessful attempt to found a colony in Libya, set out once more with a band of colonists to Sicily, where he was defeated and slain by the Egestaeans and Phoenicians, v. 46.

9. ἐκπρήξασθαι. 'Exact vengeance for.' Cf. v. 94, *συνεπρήξαντο Μενέλεω τὰς Ἑλένης ἀρπαγὰς*.

10. ὑποτείνοντος, 'offering', holding out as a bait. Cf. Thucyd. viii. 48, *υποτεινοντος αὐτοῦ... βασιλέα φίλον ποιήσειν*.

τὰ ἐμπόρια. Probably the trading stations, through possession of which Carthage monopolised the corn trade of Sicily.

13. τὸ κατ' ὑμέας... νέμεται. The Indic. makes the assertion very strong. Cf. i. 124, *κατὰ... τὴν τούτου προθυμίην τέθνηκας*, 'as far as his zeal is concerned, you are a dead man'.

14. ὑπὸ βαρβάροισι. The idea of *subjection* is more prominent than that of agency; hence the dat. Cf. i. 91, *ἀρχόμενος ὑπ' ἐκείνοισι*. Pl. Rep. 558 D, *ὕπὸ τῷ πατρὶ τεθραμμένος*.

15. ἀλλὰ... γάρ. Ch. 143 n.

κατέστη, sc. τὰ πρῆγματα.

17. οὕτω δῆ. Ch. 119 (23).

22. ἵπποδρόμους. Probably the same as ἄμипποι, light and active soldiers accompanying the cavalry. (Stein.)

159. 1. οὔτε... τε. Ch. 8 n.

2. ἦ κε μέγ' οἰμώξειεν. In imitation of Il. vii. 125, *ἦ κε μέγ' οἰμώξειε γέρων ἱππηλάτα Πηλεΐς*. Cf. ch. 103 n.

The Homeric Agamemnon was king of Mycenae. Mycenae in after times was confounded with the neighbouring and more important Argos, to which it became subject, and which claimed the Mycenaean sovereignty; cf. ch. 148. When, however, Sparta rose to the head of the Peloponnese, she found it convenient to assume this dignity herself, making use, no doubt, of the legend which established Orestes at Sparta, after the death of Menelaus, Pind. P. xi. 16. See Grote, ch. 7.

The hegemony of Greece was first ascribed to Sparta by

Croesus, through his envoys; i. 69, ὑμέας γὰρ πυνθάνομαι προσ-  
τάναι τῆς Ἑλλάδος.

5. Γέλωνός τε καὶ Συρηκουσίων. The omission of the  
articles implies scorn, as Larcher observes. In ch. 161, this  
is further emphasised by the partic. *έόντες*.

8. ἀρξόμενος. Ch. 39 (17) n.

10. σὺ δέ. Ch. 51 n. For infin. ch. 141.

2. ἀπεστραμμένους, 'uncompromising', 'repellent', from 160  
ἀποστρέφειν (Lat. *aversari*), to turn away from, reject. Cf.  
infr. προσάντης, and viii. 62, ἐπεστραμμένα, earnest, eager (i.e.  
turned to the subject in hand).

3. τὸν τελευταῖον. Lit. 'as the last'.

5. κατιόντα. Perhaps used as passive of καταχέω. Cf.  
i. 212, κατιόντος τοῦ οἴνου ἐς κ.τ.λ. For the use of κατα-  
χέω with ὄνειδος cf. Od. xxii. 463, ἐμῇ κεφαλῇ κατ' ὄνειδεα  
χεῖσαν.

8. ὅκου. Ch. 118 n.

12. ἡμεῖς. '*Pluralis magnificentiae*'; the 'royal we'.

13. εἰ τοῦ μέν...κ.τ.λ. Lit. 'suppose you take the command  
of the land forces, and I of the fleet'; cf. ch. 235, εἰ νέας...ἀπο-  
στείλειας. I have here followed Stein, who in explanation of  
this elliptical constr. quotes (ch. 5 n.), among other passages,  
ii. xvi. 558, κεῖται | Σαρπηδών. ἀλλ' εἴ μιν ἀεικισσαίμεθ' ἐλόντες.  
'There lies S.; suppose we seize and dishonour him.' Ib. xv.  
571, xxiv. 74, Eur. Phoen. 724, εἰ νυκτὸς αὐτοῖς προσβάλοιμεν ἐκ  
λόχου; 'what if we...?'

16. τούτοισι ἀρέσκεσθαι. Others read ἀρκέεσθαι, for this  
rare pass. cf. ix. 33, οὐδ'...ἔτι ἔφη ἀρκέεσθαι τούτοισι.

ἢ ἀρέσκεσθαι...ἢ ἀπιέναι. Notice the coordinate constr.,  
where in Engl. a dependent condition would be used, 'if you  
are not content, you must etc.'; cf. Pl. Legg. 737 B, ἀνεγ-  
κλήτους δεῖ τὰς οὐσίας...κατασκευάζεσθαι ἢ μὴ προῖέναι (if we are  
to advance), also ch. 84 (3) n.

18. προτείνετο, 'proposed', used both in Act. and Mid.

8. γλίχεται, usually with a gen. Cf. viii. 143, ἐλευθερίης 161  
γλιχόμενοι. Also with infin., as in Dem. xviii. 297, τῆς μὲν εἰς  
τὸ παρὸν τιμῆς ἐμὲ ἀποστερηῆσαι γλίχεται...

ὅσον, i. q. ὅσον χρόνον.



12. ἀπολογεύμενος, 'making answer', not without the idea of defending the speaker's position.

ἀπάσης, sc. τῆς ἀρχῆς, from ἀρχειν.

ἀπελαυνόμενος, 'becoming debarred from'; cf. ch. 205, ἀπελήλατο τῆς φροντίδος περὶ τῆς βασιλείης.

13. οὕτω ἔχει τοι. 'Look you how the case stands.' τοι, ethic dat. Cf. VIII. 125; and for similar omission of the noun, VIII. 144, ὡς οὕτω ἐχόντων, supr. ch. 158, κατέστη.

18. ὦδε, 'in that case', expl. by εἰ συγχωρήσομεν.

πάραλον. οἱ πάραλοι generally means: (1) in a special sense, the 'coast men' of Attica, one of the three ancient divisions of the people; cf. I. 59, στασιαζόντων τῶν παράλων. (2) the crew of the sacred vessel Paralos.

19. Ἑλλήνων, with πλείστον, as infr. with μῦνοι.

20. Συρηκουσίοισι ἐόντες Ἀθηναῖοι. Ch. 159 (5) n.

21. τῆς ἡγεμονίας. Abl. gen., expressing separation. Cf. II. 80, τοῖσι πρεσβυτέροισι εἰκουσι τῆς ὁδοῦ. II. v. 348, εἴκε... πολέμου κ. δηϊότητος. xv. 655, νεῶν ἐχώρησαν.

παρεχόμενοι. Cf. ch. 61.

22. μῦνοι... Ἑλλήνων. An exaggeration; the Arcadians and Cynurians also claimed to be αὐτόχθονες, VIII. 73. Most of the important families at Athens had sprung from immigrant refugees, and the majority of the people were Ionians from Achaea; still, there had been no war of conquest, and the original inhabitants had lived on peaceably beside the new comers (cf. Thucyd. I. 2), and thus the epithets αὐτόχθονες and γηγενεῖς are commonly applied to their race by Attic writers.

μετανάσται, from μεταναστῆναι, lit. to rise up and move to.

23. "Ομηρος. II. II. 546:

οἱ δ' ἄρ' Ἀθήνας εἶχον...

τῶν αὖθ' ἡγεμόνεν υἱὸς Πετewω Μενεσθεύς·

τῷδ' οὐ πῶ τις ὁμοῖος ἐπιχθόνιος γένητ' ἀνὴρ

κοσμήσαι ἵππους τε καὶ ἀνέρας ἀσπιδιώτας.

The testimony of Hom. was, according to tradition, employed by the Athenians on a previous occasion, when they

proved their right to Salamis, against the Megarians, by quoting ll. 557, 8 of this Book.

24. τάξει τε καὶ διακοσμήσαι. Ch. 52 (7) n.

4. οὐκ ἂν φθάνοιτε. 'The sooner you go, the better'; lit. 162 'you could not go too soon', (however fast you were to go).

5. τὴν ταχίστην. Ch. 48 n.

6. ὅτι ἐκ τοῦ κ.τ.λ. This simile is attributed to Pericles in his Funeral Oration by Aristotle, *Rhet.* i. 7, but does not occur in the version of Thucyd.

10. τὴν ἑωυτοῦ στρατιήν, sc. ἔλεγεν εἶναι (he meant that it was).

στερισκομένην...συνμαχίης, 'the loss of his alliance to Greece', not 'Greece deprived of his alliance'. Cf. ch. 23 (10) n.

1. τοσαῦτα...χρηματισάμενοι, 'after holding this inter- 163 view with G.' Cf. III. 118, ἤθελε χρηματίσασθαι τῷ βασιλεῖ.

8. ἡμέλησε. Usually with Gen., like μέλειν. Cf. II. 121, εἰ τούτων ἀμελήσει, but also II. 66, ἀμελήσαντες σβεννύναι τὸ καίόμενον.

ὁ δέ. Cf. ch. 6 (28) n.

11. ἐς Δελφοὺς. The choice of Delphi, as safe ground for a neutral, accords with the scared and unpatriotic tenor of the oracular advice given to Athens and Crete.

12. καταδοκῆσοντα...πεσέεται. Cf. VIII. 67, ἐκαταδόκεον τὸν πόλεμον κῆ ἀποβήσεται, also ch. 168, and VIII. 130. In πεσέεται (turn out) the metaphor is from a dice throw. Cf. Soph. Fr. 763, αἶε γὰρ εὖ πίπτουσιν οἱ Διὸς κύβοι. Eur. Or. 603, οἷς πίπτουσιν εὖ [γάμοι].

14. διδόναι, sc. ἐκέλευε. Cf. ch. 162.

15. τῶν, i. q. τούτων ὧν, the first being a gen. of connexion, or possibly of *price*. In English we speak of doing homage *for* possession. We have already noticed, in several cases, that Hdt. uses the gen. very freely, to express a more or less general connexion, where the case cannot well be referred to any more special usage; cf. ch. 36 (7), 80 (7).

3. εὖ βεβηκυῖαν, 'on a firm footing', hence 'prosperous'. 164 Cf. Soph. El. 672, τοῖσιν ἐχθροῖς εὖ βεβηκόσιν.

4. ἐκὼν τε εἶναι. Very rarely, as here, without a negative expressed or implied; cf. ch. 104 n. and VIII. 30, 116.

5. ἐς μέσον...ἀρχήν, cf. III. 142, ἐγὼ δὲ ἐς μέσον τὴν ἀρχὴν τιθεὶς ἰσονομίην ὑμῖν προαγορεύω.

6. παρὰ Σαμίων. So Stein: other edd. follow one MS. in reading μετὰ, though παρὰ gives the best sense. Cadmus was probably son of Scythes, king of Zancle, VI. 23. This Scythes, when his city had been seized by the Samians, was treacherously imprisoned by Hippocrates (ch. 154), escaped to Persia, and was welcomed and honoured for his fidelity by Darius, who gave him the tyranny of Cos. This he handed over to his son, some time before his death, which took place in Persia. Cadmus then abdicated, in order to revisit his native Sicily, and combined with Anaxilaus of Rhegium to recover Zancle from the Samians, Thucyd. VI. 4. At this time he had been superseded by Anaxilaus, whose rival, Gelo, was therefore glad to befriend him, and doubtless deemed him a fit emissary on account of his previous connexion with Persia. See Stein.

8. Μεσσήνην. Zancle, Sicel for a sickle, was so called from the shape of the coast; the name Messene was given to it by Anaxilaus, who was himself of Messenian extraction.

10. διὰ δικαιοσύνην τὴν...ἐοῦσαν, 'on account of his uprightness, of which he had personal experience besides'. Cadmus had a store of δικαιοσύνη besides the special kind displayed on the occasion mentioned. Cf. ἄλλως, ch. 16 (35) n., ἄλλος, ch. 50 (21) n.

12. ἐξ ἑωυτοῦ. Ch. 18 (20) n.

13. ἐλείπετο. Left as a memorial of himself, hence the Mid.; cf. I. 186, μνημόσυνον ἐλείπετο, VI. 109, and supra ch. 24.

18. ἀπὸ—ἄγων. A very striking and unusual instance of 'tmesis' or separation of prep. and verb. The figure is common in Hdt.:—

(1) With ὦν and the Aorist; cf. ch. 10 (62) n.

(2) In repetitions, with μέν and δέ, the prep. only being repeated with δέ (verb understood). Cf. III. 126, κατὰ μὲν ἔκτεινε Μιτροβάτρεα, κατὰ δὲ τὸν παῖδα.

(3) With conjunctions; cf. ch. 12, μετὰ δὲ βουλευέαι, and ch. 156, ἀνά τ' ἔδραμον.

165 1. Λέγεται...οἰκημένων. It is gathered from this and other statements that Hdt. himself visited Sicily.

2. ὅμως, expl. by καὶ μέλλων ἄρχεσθαι. καὶ, 'even though'.

5. Αἰνησιδήμου, cf. ch. 154. Gelo married Demarete, daughter of Thero, and the two princes were in close alliance. The latter is praised on all sides for his mildness and justice, though he punished a subsequent revolt of Himera with great severity. In B.C. 476 he gained an Olympian victory, celebrated by Pind. Ol. II. and III.

'Ακραγαντίνων. Acragas was founded from Gela B.C. 582. In 570 its government was seized by the notorious Phalaris, who was finally crushed by Telemachus, an ancestor of Thero. Under Thero the city rose to great prosperity.

6. Ἰμέρης. Founded from Zancle B.C. 648.

9. Λιγύων. From the South of France.

'Ελίσυκων. Believed by Niebuhr to be Volscians. The armies of Carthage were always mercenary and mixed.

11. βασιλέα. One of the two elected Suffetes, who were the chief magistrates at Carthage. Cf. Aristot. Pol. II. 11.

1. τῆς αὐτῆς ἡμέρης. According to Diodorus, Himera 166 was fought on the day of Thermopylae. The tradition shews how completely the Greeks felt the unity of the contest, between Hellenic freedom and civilisation on the one hand, and Oriental despotism and barbarity on the other. From the same feeling rose the story assigning the same day to the battles of Plataea and Mycale. It is uncertain whether there was a formal alliance between Carthage and Persia, but it can hardly be doubted that an understanding of some sort existed.

10. τὸ πᾶν...ἐπέξελθεῖν. Cf. ch. 50, τὸ πᾶν ἐπιλέγεσθαι.

2. οἰκῶτι χρεωμένων, 'who argue from probability'. Cf. 167 ch. 103; and I. 30, τῷ ἐόντι χρησάμενος, 'speaking the truth'.

5. ἐλκύσαι. Subject, αὐτοὺς, to be supplied; 'they dragged on the conflict'. Cf. VI. 86, προφάσις εἰλκον, 'delayed by making excuses'.

6. τὴν σύστασιν. See ch. 142 n.

7. ἐκαλλιρέετο. Ch. 113 n.

8. σώματα ὅλα. The occasion being all important.

12—14. Ἀμίλκα...οἱ. Cf. ch. 155, τοὺς γαμόρους—τούτους etc. The death of Hamilcar was regarded as a sacrificial act of self-devotion on behalf of his country. Stein, who denies that



the Phoenicians practised hero-worship, suspects confusion with the cult of Melkart, to whom voluntary sacrifices of this kind were sometimes offered.

16. τὰ ἀπὸ Σικελίης. Lit. the affairs proceeding from S., i.e. concerning S. Cf. iv. 195, τὰ ἀπὸ τῆς νήσου (the story about the island), and infr. ch. 195.

168 1, 2. τάδε—τοιάδε. Both pointing to what follows.

2. καὶ γὰρ κ.τ.λ. For Corcyra τῆς Σικελίας καλῶς παρά-πλου κεῖται, Thucyd. i. 36.

7—10. ὥς οὐ...ἐστὶ...ἀλλὰ...εἴη. Cf. ch. 151 n.; it seems impossible *here* to draw any distinction in meaning. Perhaps the optat. is used in the latter clause in order to shew clearly that the words are still dep. on φράζοντες. For τῇ—ἡμερέων cf. ch. 104, τῶν λόγων τοὺς ἀληθεστάτους.

11. ἄλλα νοεύντες, 'with different intent'. Cf. ἀλλοφρονέοντες, ch. 205.

14. Πύλον. Πύλος ἡμαθίης of the Iliad, Nestor's home. ἀνεκώχευον. Ch. 36 n.

15. καὶ οὗτοι. Like Gelo.

16. ἀελπτέοντες. Very rare, and only in the partic. Cf. II. vii. 310, ἀελπτέοντες σόον εἶναι (Αἶαντα).

23. παρασχόντες ἄν, sc. εἰ ἡβελήσαμεν.

πλείστας μετὰ Ἀθηναίους. Corinth came next, with 40 ships. The Corcyraean navy was of earlier development than the Athenian, and ranked second in importance at the outbreak of the Peloponnesian War. Thucyd. i. 14, 33.

25. τι ἀποθύμιον ποιῆσαι. Homeric ἀποθύμια ἔρδειν, opp. to καταθύμιος.

26. πλέον τι οἴσεσθαι, 'gain some advantage over', 'fare better than'. Cf. Jebb, Soph. O. T. 37.

28. ἐπεποίητο, 'was ready'.

30. ἐτησιέων ἀνέμων. Blowing from the north during Aug. and Sept. Cf. vi. 140, ἐτησιέων ἀνέμων κατεστηκότων.

31. ὑπερβαλεῖν, 'to pass', i.e., here, 'to double'. Cf. viii. 137, ἐξ Ἰλλυριῶν ἐς τὴν ἄνω Μακεδονίην.

33. κακότητι, ch. 140 n. λειφθῆναι, ch. 8 (18) n.

34. διεκρούσαντο, 'evaded'; common in Dem., of debtors and criminals.

1. ἐπὶ τούτοις ταχθέντες, 'appointed to deal with them', 169 usually in a hostile sense; cf. ch. 132 n. on ἐπί.

6. ἐπιμέμφεσθε κ.τ.λ. 'You complain of what sufferings the help you gave Menelaus brought you, and now you ask whether you are to repeat the folly that cost you so dear before!'

7. Μενέλεω. Dep. on the verbal notion in τιμωρημάτων. Cf. Thucyd. vi. 76, περὶ...ἐκείνῳ καταδουλώσεως.

8. μηνίων. Cf. μῆνις, ch. 134 n.

οἱ μὲν, i.e. οἱ Ἕλληνες.

συνεξεπρήξαντο. Cf. ch. 158, ἐκπρήξασθαι.

9. αὐτῷ. Dat. of advantage or interest; not after συν in συνεξεπρ. αὐτῷ τὸν θάνατον = his death. Cf. 16 (3) n.

1. λέγεται γὰρ κ.τ.λ. Daedalus, having offended Minos, 170 with whom he had taken refuge, fled from his prison, and, crossing the Aegean on his waxen wings, escaped to Sicily. Here King Cocalus befriended him by treacherously slaying his pursuers.

2. κατὰ ζήτησιν. Ch. 136, κατὰ ταῦτα.

3. Σικελίην. So called after the Sicels from Italy, who overpowered the older Sicanians. Thucyd. vi. 2.

6. Πολιχνιτέων τε καὶ Πραισίων, of non-Hellenic race.

8. Κάμικον. Built on a rock overhanging the later Acragas.

10. λιμῷ συνεστεῶτας. Cf. ch. 142 n.

13. ἐκβαλεῖν. For the pass., in this sense, we find ἐκπίπτειν, 'to be washed ashore'. Cf. viii. 13, ἐξέπιπτον πρὸς τὰς πέτρας.

14. κομιδὴν, 'means of return'. Cf. viii. 53, ἔσοδος, 'means of entrance'; and ch. 85, μάχη, 'manner of combat'.

15. Ὑρίην, probably the Roman Uria.

16. μεταβαλόντας. Intrans. Cf. viii. 109, μεταβαλὼν πρὸς τοὺς Ἀθηναίους.

17. Ἰήπυγας Μεσσαπίους. The Messapians were one among the three tribes inhabiting the Iapygian peninsula.

ἀντὶ δὲ εἶναι. A striking exception to the rule that the Infin. must be preceded by the article when governed by a prep. Cf. also i. 210, ἀντὶ ἄρχεσθαι. vi. 32, ἀντὶ εἶναι.

19. **Ταραντῖνοι.** Tarentum was founded from Sparta, Rhegium from Messana and Chalcis.

20. **χρόνῳ ὕστερον ἐξανιστάντες,** 'tentative'. Cf. ch. 139 n. and 150.

22. **δῆ,** emphasises the superlative.

23. **οἱ,** with **τῶν ἀστῶν** (partitive gen.), i.q. **ὅσοι τῶν ἀστῶν.**

25. **οὕτω,** 'there', lit. 'under these circumstances'. Cf. ch. 119 n.

26. **οὐκ ἐπὶν ἀριθμός,** cf. ch. 191, 'no count was kept of'. For **ἀριθμός** cf. ch. 60.

27. **ἐπίτροπος,** cf. ch. 7 (8) n. Miccythus held the government until the sons of Anaxilaus reached manhood and demanded it from him, 467 B.C.; he then retired to Tegea.

30. **τοὺς πολλοὺς ἀνδριάντας.** Cf. ch. 27 (10) n. The statues were known to Pausanias.

171 5. **ἄλλους τε...Ἕλληνας.** Cf. Od. xix. 173, of Crete:—

**ἐν δ' ἄνθρωποι**

**πολλοὶ, ἀπειρέσιοι, καὶ ἐννήκοντα πόλῃες,**

**ἄλλη δ' ἄλλων γλῶσσα μεμιγμένη· ἐν μὲν Ἀχαιοὶ,**

**ἐν δ' Ἑτεόκρητες μεγαλήτορες, ἐν δὲ Κύδωνες,**

**Δωριεὲς δὲ τριχάϊκες, δῖοι τε Πελασγοί.**

6. **τρίτῃ δὲ γενεῇ.** Minos was the grandfather of Idomeneus, who fought at Troy, Od. xix. 180.

8. **Κρήτας.** Led by Idomeneus and Meriones. Il. xiii. 329.

11. **τοῖσι προβάτοισι,** 'their flocks and herds'. Cf. viii. 137, where sheep and goats are distinguished as **τὰ λεπτὰ τῶν προβάτων.**

11—13. **ἔστε...Κρήτας.** The construction is condensed: the settlement of the island by 'a third set of "Cretans"' being regarded as a continuous act, lasting up to the present time. For the Infin. cf. ch. 148 n.

172 2. **ὥς διέδεξαν,** 'as they clearly shewed'; used also impersonally; **ὥς διέδεξε,** 'as became manifest'. Cf. ii. 134.

**οἱ Ἀλευάδαι.** Cf. ch. 6 n.

6. **ἐν δὲ τῷ Ἴσθμῳ.** Cf. ch. 145.

7. **πρόβουλοι τῆς Ἑλλάδος.** So, during the Ionian Revolt, "Ἴωνες ἐπεμπον προβούλους σφέων αὐτῶν ἐς Πανιώνιον, and in the

panic at Athens, after the Sicilian disaster, a board of πρόβουλοι were appointed. Strictly the term denotes a committee who prepared measures for a larger βουλή, or for a popular assembly.

11. τὴν ἐσβολήν. Lit. the entrance, cf. infr. ch. 173, ἐσβολήν, τῇ περ καὶ ἐσέβαλε, hence esp. 'a pass'.

12. ἐν σκέπῃ τοῦ πολέμου. Cf. ch. 215, and i. 143, ἐν σκέπῃ τοῦ φόβου. Homeric σκέπας ἀνέμοιο. The Gen. is objective: 'in shelter from the war'.

16. προκατημένους τοσοῦτο, 'stationed so far in front of'. In VIII. 36, προκατῆσθαι τῶν ἐνωτοῦ, the original idea is merged in that of defence alone; so here πρὸ ὑμέων, lit. 'before you', comes to mean 'in your defence'.

18. οὐ βουλόμενοι. 'If you refuse.' Οὐ βούλεσθαι forms a single notion: hence οὐ is used instead of μὴ, although in a condition, cf. ch. 46 (10), n. 3, also ch. 101.

20. οὐδαμὰ γὰρ κ.τ.λ. Bähr compares '*iuris consultorum illud*': *Nemo ultra posse obligatur*.

6. Ἀχαιΐης. Achaea Phthiotis. Alos, or Halos, is mentioned as under the sway of Achilles, II. ii. 682. 173

9. Μακεδονίης τῆς κάτω, 'the coast of Macedonia'. Cf. ch. 128.

12. κατὰ μυρίους, 'about 10,000'. Distinguish from the distributive use of κατὰ, VIII. 113, ἐξελέγετο κατ' ὀλίγους (a few from each).

15. ἐκ τῶν πολεμάρχων. The Spartan Polemarchs appear to have ranked next to the kings, in whose council of war they sat. They held the command of the six *morae* into which the army was divided, as well as certain civil functions. From this passage it would seem that they usually belonged to the royal family.

19. ἀνδρὸς Μακεδόνος. He was in fact στρατηγός τε καὶ βασιλεὺς Μακεδόνων. His father had sent earth and water to Darius, and Alexander himself was in the service of Xerxes, though anxious to do his best for the Greeks, cf. VIII. 136, IX. 44.

23. καὶ τὰς νέας. From which troops could be landed further South.



25. ἐφαίνετο ἔων, 'evidently was', distinguished from ἐφάνετο εἶναι, 'appeared to be'.

26. δοκέειν δέ μοι. Cf. ch. 24 (1) n.

ἀρρωδίη ἦν τὸ πείθον, a more prosaic constr. than the personification of Soph. El. 198, δόλος ἦν ὁ φράσας, ἔρος ὁ κτείνας.

28. κατὰ...πόλιν. Cf. ch. 128.

174 4. τε καὶ ἔοντος, '(and being) in fact'.

5. οὕτω δῆ, *tum demum*, cf. ch. 119 n.

6. οὐδ' ἔτι ἐνδοιαστῶς, 'with no further hesitation'. Cf. Thucyd. viii. 87, ἐπιφανεῖς οὐκ ἐνδοιαστῶς, 'giving a decisive manifestation'.

ἐν τοῖσι πρήγμασι, 'the business', *par excellence*, i.e. the war.

175 2. πρὸς τὰ λ. Ch. 153 (19) n.

ἔξ. In its proper sense. Alex. was the source of the advice, not the speaker. Cf. ch. 18 (20) n.

3. τῇ τε...χώροισι, 'how they should begin the war, and in what part of the country'.

ἵστασθαι is properly to marshal, set (the battle) in array; cf. ch. 9, ἀβουλότατα πολέμους ἵστασθαι. Od. ix. 54, στήσάμενοι δ' ἐμάχοντο μάχην, and intr. φύλοπις ἔστηκε.

4. οἴοισι. With reference to the nature of the ground.

6. καὶ μία. The reading of two mss. only; the rest give καὶ ἅμα (so Bähr), which makes τε superfluous. μία is explained by the following τὴν δέ—Τρηχινίων.

13. γῆς τῆς Ἰστιαιώτιδος, 'in the territory of Histiaea', a town of Euboea, cf. viii. 23. Larcher is clearly wrong in calling Artemisium 'a branch of the sea', and translating ἐπὶ 'A. 'into A.'

14. ἀγχοῦ...ὥστε πυνθάνεσθαι, 'near enough for receiving information'. So too in a contrary sense. Cf. Xen. Mem. iii. 13. 3, (ὑδωρ) ψυχρόν ὥστε λούσασθαι, 'too cold for washing'; without ὥστε, ch. 207.

176 1. τοῦτο μὲν τὸ Ἀρτεμίσιον, 'First, as to Artemisium'. I have adopted Stein's punctuation, which is quite necessary.

2. ἐκ...ἔξ εὐρέος, 'after the expanse of the Thracian Sea'. (Lit. after the T. S. wide as it is.) For the repetition of the prep., cf. ch. 173, ἐς τὰ Τέμπεα ἐς τὴν ἐσβολήν.

3. συνάγεται, impers., 'there is a narrowing'.

5. τῆς Εὐβοίης. With both Ἀρτεμίσιον and αἰγιαλός.

6. ἤδη (cf. ch. 184 n.) with δέκεται, which, like ὑποδέκεται (infra), replaces the commoner ἐκδέκεται. Cf. II. XIX. 290, δέχεται κακὸν ἐκ κακοῦ αἰεί.

Artemisium is described by Plutarch, Them. 8, as αἰγιαλὸς εἰς βορέαν ἀναπεπταμένος. The Temple was, in his days, surrounded by trees and by a circle of marble pillars erected in memory of the battle.

7. διὰ Τρηχίνος. Here the land of Trachis is meant; the name belongs to both the city and its territory. See Map.

8. ἡμίπλεθρον, 50 feet.

9. κατὰ τοῦτο, 'at this point'.

τὸ στεινότατον...τῆς ἄλλης. This common idiom is probably due to confusion between the Genitives following Superlatives and Comparatives. Cf. ch. 164, οὐκ ἐλάχιστόν τούτων (i.e. τῶν ἄλλων). II. 161, εὐδαιμονέστατος ἐγένετο τῶν πρότερον βασιλέων.

Fifty feet was the narrowest width of the Pass of Thermopylae proper, but there were two other spots, at either end, where the passage was actually narrower.

11. Ἀλπηνοῦς, a Locrian town. Cf. ch. 216. The Pass is regarded as facing toward the invader; hence ὀπισθε—ἐμ-προσθε.

9—11. ἐστὶ τὸ στεινότατον...ἐοῦσα ἀμαξίτος. For the attraction, cf. ch. 41 (9) n.

13. Ἀνθηλῆς πόλις. Cf. ch. 200.

14. τὸ πρὸς ἐσπέρης. Hdt. is mistaken; the coast lies E. and W.; the mountain side is therefore S., the sea N. of the Pass.

17. τενάγεια. The sea has gradually receded; what is described by Livy as *loca invia palustri limo et voragimbus* is at the present day a marsh of a mile or two in width, traversed by a road practicable in summer.

18. θερμά λουτρά. The two hot springs, from which the Pass has gained its name, are of exceptionally clear water, 100° in temperature, and well up into stone basins provided for the bathers.

Χύτρους, 'The Cauldrons' (R.).

19. βωμὸς...Ἡρακλέος. The summit of Oeta was the legendary scene of Heracles' death and apotheosis, cf. ch. 198; and thither the Roman consul ascended to do sacrifice in his honour B.C. 191, on the spot then known as Pyra. To him the surrounding country was sacred, and after him the Spartan colony, founded near Trachis in 426 B.C., was named Heracleia.

18, 19. τὰ—καὶ ἐπ' αὐτοῖσι. Cf. ch. 59 (5) n.

22. ἐπεὶ Θεσσαλοὶ κ.τ.λ. 60 years after the Trojan War, the Thessalians, migrating from Thesprotia in Epirus, to oust the Boeotians from the modern Thessaly, 'gave the impulse to a series of re-settlements'. Cf. Thucyd. i. 12. Curt. i. p. 106 seqq.

25. τοῦτο προεφυλάξαντο, 'took this precaution'. τοῦτο, 'internal' acc., cf. ch. 114 (1) n.

27. ὥς ἂν χαραδρωθῇ ὁ χῶρος, lit. 'in such a way that the ground would become channelled'. Hardly different in meaning from 'in order that' (opt. *without ἂν*). The desired result is perhaps represented as less within the agent's direct power, more dependent on circumstances. The constr. of ἂν with opt. of purpose, after ὥς, ὅπως, (ὅφρα), is common in Homer and Hdt., but not found in Attic prose. Gdw. § 44. I. N. 3. Cf. Aesch. Ag. 364, ὅπως ἂν...βέλος ἡλίθιον σκῆψειεν, 'so as that the weapon might not' etc. (Paley).

31. ἔκειτο, 'was lying in ruins'. Cf. Pl. Rep. 425 A, ἐπανορθοῦσα εἴ τι τῆς πόλεως ἔκειτο, and VIII. 25, τοὺς κειμένους, 'the fallen'.

177 3—6. προσκεψάμενοι...σφι ἔδοξε. With this anacolouthon cf. that in VIII. 87, rendered less harsh by the parenthesis, καὶ ἧ—ἔδοξέ οἱ.

178 1. διαταχθέντες, 'as they had been divided', i.e. some to each of the two spots.

3. ἐχρηστηριάζοντο τῷ θεῷ. Cf. VIII. 134, ἱροῖσι χρηστηριάζεσθαι, by means of victims.

5. καὶ σφι κ.τ.λ. The words are said to have been:—

᾽Ω Δελφοί, λίσσεσθ' ἀνέμους, καὶ λῶϊον ἔσται.

Cf. the advice given to the Athenians, ch. 189.

10. ἐξαγγέλλαντες...κατέθεντο. As Stein observes, a complete hexameter. With χάριν ἀθ. καταθέσθαι, 'to earn undying gratitude', lit. to lay up a store etc., cf. ch. 220, κλέος καταθέσθαι.

12. βωμόν ἀπέδεξαν. Cf. v. 89, τῷ μὲν Αἰακῷ τέμενος ἀπέδεξαν.

13. Θυίης. The foundress of the worship of Dionysus; hence θυιάδες.

15. θυσίησι...μετήϊσαν. Cf. iv. 7, θυσίησι μεγάλῃσι ἱλασκόμενοι μετέρχονται.

1. ὀρμεόμενος. Ch. 22 (5) n. The main body of the fleet 179 remained at Therma, ch. 183.

2. παρέβαλε, intr. So Thucyd. iii. 32, ναὺς παραβαλεῖν εἰς Ἰωνίαν. The dat. νηυσὶ is instrumental, the ten ships being the limb, as it were, with which the fleet moves.

3. ἰθὺ Σκιαθου. Cf. viii. 38, ἰθὺ Βοιωτῶν. Att. Ar. Av. 1421, εὐθὺ Πελλήνης, and Eq. 254, εὐθὺ τῶν κυρηβίων.

6. οὔτοι. Constr. κατὰ σύνεσιν. Cf. ch. 147.

3. τῶν ἐπιβατέων. Cf. ch. 184 (9) n.

180

4. διαδέξιον ποιούμενοι κ.τ.λ. 'Deeming their first and fairest Greek captive an auspicious [victim].' Bähr tr. *laetum omen captantes*. Stein, connecting διαδέξιος with διαδέχομαι (cf. ὑποδέξιος, ch. 49), understands διαδέξιον (ἔρον) of a sacrifice of which all partook in turn, quoting a human sacrifice of this nature, iii. 11. As he remarks, the captors were Phoenicians (the ten ships being ἄριστα πλέουσai), to whom this kind of offering was not unknown. Cf. ch. 167.

7. τάχα δ'...ἐπαύροιτο. 'And perhaps he would have his name to thank in some degree.' As in ch. 150 the opt. (εἴημεν ἄν) was used as an expression of probability or cautious statement in *present* time, so here it is found expressing probability, or possibility in the *past*, the use of τάχα making the probability more remote.

The same kind of thought is expressed Soph. O. T. 523, by the Aor. Ind. with ἄν, in the well-known passage, ἀλλ' ἦλθε μὲν δὴ τοῦτο τοῦνειδος τάχ' ἄν | ὀργῇ βιασθέν.

ἐπαύρεσθαι in a bad sense (of *being brought ill luck by anything*) is common. Hdt. supposes that the name Lion may



have brought its bearer misfortune, and marked him out for a violent death. Belief in the influence of names was widespread among the Greeks, as in later times. Cf. ix. 91; Aesch. Ag. 681; Soph. Aj. 430.

Stein imagines that the Phoenician captors learnt the man's name, and were thereby confirmed in their choice of a victim.

181 2. καὶ, 'actually', though one of three against ten.

θόρυβον παρέσχε. Cf. *πρήγματα, πόνον παρέχειν*.

3. Πυθέω. For the end of the story cf. viii. 92.

4. ταύτην τὴν ἡμέρην. As Stein points out, Hdt. gives a wide use to the acc. of time. We can hardly expl. *ἡμέρην* here as an acc. of duration, nor in ch. 203, *πᾶσαν ἡμέρην*.

6. κατεκρεουργήθη, i.q. *κατεκόπη*, viii. 92. Cf. iii. 13, *τοὺς ἄνδρας κρεουργηδὸν διασπάσαντες*.

9. περιποιῆσαι, Causative of *περιεῖναι*.

10. σινδόνης...τελαμῶσι κατελίσσοντες. So in preparing a mummy, *κατελίσσουσι πᾶν τὸ σῶμα σινδόνης βυσσίνης τελαμῶσι κατατετμημένοισι*, ii. 86.

13. ἐκπαγλεόμενοι, implying awe as well as admiration; cf. ix. 48, *ἀνθρώπων ἐκπαγλεομένων ὥς οὔτε φεύγετε*. In Trag. with a direct acc., Aesch. Cho. 217.

182 3. ἐξοκέλλει. The intr. use probably arose thus: (1) *ὀκέλλειν ναῦν* (of seamen) as *infr. ἐπώκειλαν*, (2) with *ναῦν* omitted, (3) *ὀκέλλειν*, intr. (of the ship itself). Cf. similar alternation of *ἐλαύνειν στρατιήν* and *ἐλαύνειν*, intr.; *ἐσβάλλειν* and *ἐσβάλλειν ὕδωρ*, ch. 129; *κατέχειν* and *κατέχειν ναῦν*, ch. 59.

4. τὰς ἐσβολὰς τοῦ Πηνειοῦ, i.e. *τῇ περ ἐς τὴν θάλασσαν ἐσβάλλει*. Bekker, Stein and others emend to the common *ἐκβολὰς*.

τοῦ σκάφους, i.q. *τῆς νεὸς*, as in poetry.

9. στρατοπεδεύόμενοι. Cf. ch. 121 (2).

10. παρὰ πυρσῶν. *παρὰ* personifies the beacons, being usual in this sense with a gen. of a person only. Cf. Aesch. Ag. 282, *φρυκτὸς δὲ φρυκτὸν δεῦρ'...ἔπεμπε*.

13. ἡμεροσκόπους. Properly 'scouts keeping watch the whole day', and returning to head-quarters at night. Cf. vi. 105, *ἡμεροδρόμον*, a courier practised in travelling without pause.

5. **στήλην λίθον.** As a warning; *ἔρμα*, a sunken reef. 183

6. **τὸ ἐμποδὼν ἐγγόνει καθαρόν.** Seemingly illogical; but the real obstacle had been the invisibility of the reef, not its existence. For the meaning of *καθαρός*, *clear*, cf. Pind. Ol. vi. 39, *κελεύθῳ ἐν καθαρῷ*. Soph. O. C. 1575, *ἐν καθαρῷ βῆναι...τῷ ξένῳ*, 'to keep clear of the stranger' (of Cerberus).

8. **παρέντες**, 'having let pass', 'after'. Cf. *διαλείπω*, III. 157, *διαλιπὼν ἡμέρας τὰς συγκειμένας*. Thucyd. v. 10, *οὐ πολὺ διαλιπὼν ἐτελεύτησεν*.

9. **κατηγήσατο**, 'pointed out'. Cf. ch. 8 (7) n.

10. **ἐν πόρῳ μάλιστα**, colloquially, 'just about where they would pass', so Bähr. To mean *the straits*, the article would have been used. *μάλιστα* adds vagueness; cf. *πηνίκα μάλιστα*; (*about what time?*) and the common use with numerals, ch. 30 (7).

**Σκύριος.** Scyros, connected by legend with Theseus and Achilles, was at this time inhabited by Dolopes, but was afterwards colonised by the Athenians under Cimon.

11. **ἐξανύουσι—ἐπὶ Σηπιάδα.** In trag. with a simple acc. of 'motion', cf. Soph. O. C. 1564, *ἐξανύσαι...Στύγιον δόμον*.

**τῆς Μαγνησίης χώρας.** Dep. on *Σηπιάδα*, cf. ch. 188. In these cases the partitive Gen. usually comes first, as here; the general before the particular locality.

13. **Κασθαναίης.** Lat. *Castanea*, still abounding in the chestnuts to which it gave their Latin name (R.).

2. **ἀπαθῆς κακῶν.** Cf. vi. 12, *ἀπαθέες πόνων*, i. 109, 184 *ἄπαις ἔρσενος γόνου*. And Soph. *ἄχαλκος*, *ἄσκειον ἄσπιδων*. This gen., so common after an adj. formed with the privative *a-*, is one of *connexion*, shewing in what respect the epithet of the adj. is applied.

5. **ἑουσέων κ.τ.λ.** Ch. 89.

6. **τὸν μὲν ἀρχαῖον ὄμ.,** 'the original numbers'.

9. **ἀνὰ διηκοσίους ἄνδρας**, 'at the rate of 200 men'. Distributive. Cf. St Matt. xx. 10, *ἔλαβον ἀνὰ δηνάριον* 'every man a penny'. Similarly *κατὰ*. Cf. ch. 173.

**ὥς λογιζόμενοισι**, 'supposing we calculate'. Dat. of person judging.

Two hundred men was apparently the usual crew of a Greek ship, cf. viii. 17. The number of *ἐπιβάται*, or marines,

decreased with the development of naval tactics. At the battle of Lade, a Chian ship had 40 on board; according to Plutarch, 18 served on each Attic ship at Salamis, and 10 only was the ordinary number during the Pelop. war.

13. οὗτος κ.τ.λ. 'These make up a further count of 36,210.' Cf. ch. 41 for attraction.

15. τῷ προτέρῳ ἀριθμῷ, 'to the numbers first given', i.e. the sum of the native crews.

16. ποιήσας κ.τ.λ., 'assuming that etc.' cf. ch. 186. τίθημι is similarly used. Cf. Pl. Theaet. 191 c, θὲς δὴ μοι ἐνὸν ἐκμαγείον.

ὅ τι...ἔλασσον. Lit. whatever there was above or under this number, i.e. whether there were more, or whether there were fewer.

18. ὥς...εἰρέθη. Ch. 97. The 3000 comprised small vessels of all sorts.

19. τρισχίλια. Predic. 'to the number of 3000'.

ἤδη...εἰεν. ἤδη marks the next step, whether in time, place, or in a line of thought; often, as here, introducing the conclusion which follows directly from a previous statement or assumption. For mood, cf. ch. 150 (11) n.

24. τοῦ δὲ πεζοῦ κ.τ.λ. As reckoned from the enclosures at Doriscus, ch. 60. For the cavalry cf. ch. 87.

28. καὶ δὴ. Cf. ch. 186 n.

33. ἔξαναχθὲν, properly of a sea voyage only. Cf. ch. 194.

185 3. δόκησιν, conjecture founded on τὸ οἶκος. Cf. Soph. Tr. 425, δόκησιν εἰπεῖν, as opp. to ἐξακριβῶσαι λόγον. Hdt. is perfectly candid; he never pretends to accurate information where he knows that he does not possess it. If he makes misstatements, they arise from misplaced confidence, erroneous judgment, and sometimes, it is true, from carelessness; never from intent to deceive.

5. τῶν νήσων. Thasos was the only one of any importance.

8. γίνονται, 'there is a total of'. Lit. 'are making up a total of', viewed as a continuous process. γίν. is used idiomatically in the sense of 'amounting to'. Cf. ch. 87, 89, ἀριθμὸς ἐγένετο.

9. Ἑορδοί. This tribe, not previously mentioned, dwelt originally west of Pella, but, like many others, had been driven to found settlements in Mygdonia by the conquering Temenidae, Thucyd. II. 99, for whom cf. VIII. 137.

10. τὸ Χαλκιδικὸν γένος. The greater part of the peninsula called after them was held by colonists from Chalcis, though Potidaea, Olynthus, Acanthus, and other cities of importance were of different origin. Cf. VIII. 127.

13. τούτων τῶν ἐθνέων. This gen. supplants περὶ, which has been lost sight of in the long enumeration.

14. αὗται ὧν κ.τ.λ. 'These numbers being added to the former, the total of fighting men amounts to etc.' Cf. ch. 157. Here, as there, a subst. and participle are found in the Nom., instead of forming a gen. abs., because the meaning of that subst. is included and summed up in the subject of the sentence (αἱ πᾶσαι ἀνδρῶν αἱ μάχιμοι μυριάδες).

16. αἱ πᾶσαι ἀνδρῶν αἱ μάχιμοι, i.e. ἀνδρῶν τῶν μαχίμων, by 'hypallage'.

1. τοῦ μαχίμου = τῶν μαχίμων, cf. ch. 103, τὸ πολιτικόν.

3. τοῖσι...ἀκάτοισι, usually fem.

4. καὶ μάλα, 'and indeed', 'and further'. Cf. I. 181, ἐπὶ τοῦτῃ τῇ πύργῳ ἄλλος πύργος...καὶ ἕτερος μάλα ἐπὶ τοῦτῃ. VIII. 66, Δωριέας κ. Λοκροὺς...καὶ μάλα Καρυστίους κ.τ.λ. Also supr. ch. 11 (14).

7. καὶ δὴ ποίω. Cf. ch. 10 (23) n. for the special usages of καὶ δὴ. Also ch. 49, καὶ δὴ τῶν δύο...τὸ ἕτερον ἔρχομαι ἐρέων. Ib. καὶ δὴ τοι...λέγω. Ch. 149, καὶ δὴ λέγειν. Ch. 184, καὶ δὴ τὸ πλῆθος συντιθέμενον γίνεται.... I. 1, τῇ τε ἄλλῃ καὶ δὴ καὶ ἐς Ἀργος. From a careful comparison of these examples we may come to learn the real primary meaning of καὶ δὴ, from which the special usages, noticed ch. 10 n., are evolved. The words seem to be used in order to emphasise the noun or verb with which they are connected, and so to show that *the point* is reached. So in the last example quoted, the reader's attention is to be specially drawn to Argos, *the particular place* about which more is to be told. Similarly in the first quotation from ch. 49, καὶ δὴ is used to announce that Hdt., having dismissed the first, now proceeds to *the second point* in his



argument. So too in the second quotation, *καὶ δὴ τοι λέγω* introduces the special result to be drawn from the assumption. It is not difficult to understand the transition from this usage, marking that we have at last reached the point of the discourse, to that in which *καὶ δὴ* is best translated 'already' (see note ch. 10); nor again to that where it marks the acceptance of an offer (coming to the point in a bargain), and is used in affirmative answers. The third special use, that in *suppositions*, is an outcome of this last: the speaker argues with himself, or with an imaginary interlocutor, and accepts the proposed suggestion. So with the example from *Medea*: *καὶ δὴ τεθνᾶσι*, 'Well then, granted they are dead'.

Here, our Engl. idiom would be, 'however, let us assume, etc.'; Hdt. more naïvely says, 'well then, I assume'.

9. *ἐκπληροῦσι*. The *μυριάδες* are regarded as a measure to be filled up. Cf. ch. 29, *τὰς μυριάδας—ἀποπλήσω*.

10. *οὕτω...Θερμοπυλέων*. 5,283,220 is undoubtedly an astounding total, and we cannot feel surprised that the figures of Hdt. have staggered all but his warmest partisans.

According to R., the numbers in which he is most at fault are probably: (1) the Asiatic infantry, (2) the Arabs and Libyans (a guess), (3) the numbers and crews of the small craft, (4) the European land force, (5) above all, the number of attendants, in which he may have been misled by Greek custom. He further omits to make any allowance for deaths on the march and desertions of stragglers.

The remaining numbers are probably more or less accurate. Ctesias, the studied detractor of Hdt., gives the land force as 800,000, exclusive of chariots, the ships as 1000, but his authority has been proved worthless by recent discoveries, and we must be content to remain in ignorance of the true numbers. At the same time, we may in some degree realise the effect they produced on the little band of patriotic Greeks through the pictures of both Aesch. and Hdt., which to the majority of minds convey a far more real impression than any exact statement of hundreds and thousands. Cf. Grote, Pt. II. ch. 38. A different view is taken by Thirlwall, ch. 15, to whom 'there seems to be no sufficient ground for supposing

that these estimates are greatly exaggerated'; and it is well to remember that many statements of Hdt., to which formerly no credence was given, have been justified by modern research.

6. *κυνῶν Ἰνδικῶν*. A specially fine breed of sporting dogs, very popular in Persia. The Satrap of Assyria kept such a large pack that the tribute of four important villages consisted in providing their food, *i.* 192.

8. *θωῦμα παρίσταται*. Cf. *ch.* 46 (15). In a diff. sense, *i.* 23, *τῷ δὲ λέγουσι θωῦμα μέγιστον παραστήναι*, of a marvellous occurrence.

*προδοῦναι*, 'should have failed'. Cf. *viii.* 52, *τοῦ φράγματος προδεδωκότος*.

9. *ἔστι τῶν=ένων*. Cf. *ch.* 137 (7) *n.*

11. *χοίνικα πυρῶν*. Not large rations, the *χοίνιξ* being about a quart; apparently, the minimum supplied to slaves.

13. *τελομένας*. Cf. *ch.* 118.

*ἐπ' ἡμέρῃ ἐκάστη*, 'per day'. Cf. *v.* 53, *πεντήκοντα κ. ἑκατὸν στάδια ἐπ' ἡμέρῃ ἐκάστη διεξιούσι*. *Od.* *xiv.* 105, *αἰεὶ... ἐπ' ἡματι*. The constr. is not found in Att. prose. Hdt. also uses both gen. and acc. after *ἐπὶ*, with the same meaning; cf. *v.* 117, *ἐπ' ἡμέρης ἐκάστης*. *ii.* 149, *ἐπ' ἡμέρην ἐκάστην*.

Hdt.'s arithmetic is not all that could be desired. On his supposition, the no. of medimni would be 110,067 $\frac{1}{2}$  (or 165,100 bush. 2 pks. 1 gall.). In spite of the vast preparations—the corn ships, magazines and hospitality of the subject tribes—Aesch. speaks of famine during the retreat. *Pers.* 792:

*αὐτὴ γὰρ ἢ γῇ ξύμμαχος κείνοις πέλει,  
κτείνουσα λιμῷ τοὺς ὑπερβόλλους ἄγαν.*

18. *μεγάθεος*. To the Greek mind an essential to all *κάλλος*, hence the common combin. *καλὸς τε μέγας τε*. Cf. *Arist.*, *Eth.* *iv.* 3, *ὥσπερ καὶ τὸ κάλλος ἐν μεγάλῳ σώματι (ἔστι)*. With this passage cf. *iv.* 91, where Darius in his Scythian expedition engraves an inscription declaring himself to be *ἄνῃρ ἄριστός τε καὶ κάλλιστος πάντων ἀνθρώπων*.

*ἀξιονικότερος*, *i. q.* *ἀξιώτερος*. Cf. *ix.* 26, *ἀξιονικότεροι...τάξιν ἔχειν*.

188 2. κατέσχε ἐς. Cf ch. 59.

6. ἐπ' ἐκείνησι, 'beyond these' (after), cf. ch. 2 (11), 107 (17).

7. πρόκροσσαι...ἐς πόντον κ. ἐπὶ ὀκτώ νέας, 'projecting into the sea to the depth of 8 rows'. Cf. II. xiv. 35, τῷ ῥα προκρόσσας ἔρυσαν (sc. τὰς νέας, the shore being small). In Hdt. iv. 152 the word, which is very rare, is used of an ornamental bowl, πέριξ δὲ αὐτοῦ γρυπῶν κεφαλαι πρόκροσσαι εἰσι (embossed). κρόσσαι are projecting battlements (see L. and S.), and in II. 125 the ascending stages by which a pyramid was built.

ὠρμέοντο. The active form, as supr., is more common.

8. ἐπὶ ὀκτώ. So in military phrase, Thucyd. v. 68, κατέστησαν ἐπὶ ὀκτώ. IV. 93, ἐπ' ἀσπίδας πέντε κ. εἴκοσιν (of the depth of file).

9. ἐξ αἰθρίης...ἐπέπεσέ σφι χειμών. ἐκ is common in describing sudden transition. Cf. Soph. O. T. 454, τυφλὸς ἐκ δεδορκότος. Xen. Cyr. I. 4, ἐκ δακρύων γελᾶν.

11. Ἑλλησποντίν. A cold rainy N.E. wind blowing straight across the Aegean from beyond the Euxine, known also as καικίας. Further south in Attica, this wind was not distinguished from the due north Boreas. Cf. ch. 189.

13. ἔμαθον. Cf. ch. 37 (12).

14. τοῖσι οὕτω εἶχε ὄρμου, sc. ὥστε δυνατόν εἶναι ἀνασπᾶσαι. οὕτω has here a force gained from the context, which is very common in τοιοῦτος, ch. 29 (17) n. For the gen. cf. εὖ ἤκειν τινὸς, ch. 157.

οἱ δ'. δὲ with the antecedent is one form of 'δὲ in the apodosis'; cf. ch. 51 (3) n. The previous ὅσοι μὲν is answered by ὅσας δὲ infr.

16. μεταρσίας. This word, like μετεώρους in Att. prose, is applied properly to what is raised off the earth, hence to anything not on 'terra firma', as here ships at sea.

17. ἐξέφερε. This descriptive Imperf. lengthens, as it were, the time of danger. Cf. ch. 42 (11) n.

Ἴπνους. 'The Ovens', τόπον τραχὺν τῶν περὶ τὸ Πήλιον, Strabo, p. 443. The whole of the shore below Pelion is dangerous and rocky.

19. **Μελίβοιαν.** One of the cities of Philoctetes, lying in a bay between the skirts of Pelion and Ossa.

21. **ἦν τε...ἀφόρητον.** Hdt. is fond of this periphrasis, cf. III. 109, πολλὸν τι χρῆμα τῶν τέκνων. In both these cases χρῆμα and its adj. form the predicate; this is shewn by the use of the article before the gen., which is one of definition. ἦν τοῦ χειμῶνος χρ. ἀφ. = ἦν ὁ χειμῶν χρ. ἀφόρητον. Cf. Ar. Pl. 682, πολλὴν ὁσίαν νομίσας τοῦ πράγματος = ὁσιώτατον ν. τὸ πρᾶγμα.

4. **ἄλλου χρηστηρίου,** i.e. besides the two given ch. 189 140, 141.

6. **Ὀρεΐθειαν.** She was carried off by Boreas, while straying beyond the Ilissus. Pl. refers to the legend, Phaedr. 229 B.

7. **τὸ κῆδος** (Lat. *affinitas*), connexion by marriage.

8. **ῥρμηται,** 'has gone forth', i.e. 'is spread abroad'.

14. **περὶ Ἄθων.** βορῆς ἄνεμος μέγας τε καὶ ἄτοπος had caused the shipwreck of Mardonius, vi. 44.

14—16. **εἰ...εἰπεῖν.** Hdt.'s belief in Boreas is not so firm as in the greater gods; he would not have questioned the action of Apollo or Demeter etc.

16. **δ' ὦν.** Cf. ch. 9 (45) n. **ἐκεῖνα.** Cf. ch. 34 (6).

18. **ἀπελθόντες ἰδρύσαντο.** This was done subsequently. The altar was standing in Plato's time.

2. **πόνω.** The word is used of any great conflict, not 190 necessarily 'disaster', for in vi. 114, the battle of Marathon is called 'πόνος'. Cf. also viii. 89.

**οὐ ἐλαχίστας,** sc. λέγουσι, cf. ch. 10 (4). I have adopted Stein's punctuation.

6. **γιοχόντι,** = γιούχω δντι = γῆν ἔχοντι, 'a landholder'; a diff. meaning from the Homeric epithet of Poseidon, γαῖη-οχος. St. compares κληρουχέειν.

10. **περιεβάλετο,** 'secured for himself'. περιβάλλεσθαι is properly 'to put round oneself', e.g. ἔρκος (ch. 191), χλανίδα (III. 139); hence, to assume, appropriate. Cf. περιποιεῖσθαι.

The Persians recovered some of their treasures by means of a diver, viii. 8.

12. **καὶ τοῦτον.** Like the rest of mankind, Ameinocles had his sorrows.



13. ἄχαρις. A favourite word of Hdt., which he uses in a very wide sense, sometimes with a considerable degree of irony. He applies it to anything more or less 'undesirable', most commonly in the phrase οὐδὲν ἄχαρι πᾶσχειν (no harm), ch. 50; hence, by 'litotes', to the horrible and terrible. Cf. ch. 36, viii. 13. Similarly συμφορὴν ἀνεθέλητον, ch. 88.

συμφορὴ παιδοφόνος. παιδὸς φόνος constituted the συμφορὴ. Cf. τιμαὶ βούθυτοι, Aesch. Supp. 706, where τιμαὶ = βούων θυσίαι. The father had probably killed his son accidentally.

191 3. οὐκ ἐπὶ τὴν ἀριθμὸς, cf. ch. 170. νέας (supra) comprised only the triremes.

6. ἐκ, 'made out of'.

8. ἔντομα ποιεῦντες. So Menelaus, detained in Egypt by adverse winds, ii. 119, λαβὼν δύο παιδιά ἀνδρῶν ἐπιχωρίων ἔντομά, σφεα ἐποίησε, a step which the Egyptians, not unnaturally, resented. The word ἔντομα is generally used of victims offered to departed spirits.

καταείδοντες. ἐπαείδειν is more common in this sense.

γόησι. Instr. 'by means of enchanters'. Bekker, foll. by Bähr, emends to γοῇσι, 'with incantations'.

τῷ ἀνέμῳ. For the dat. after κατ- cf. ch. 9, καταγελάσαι ἡμῖν, and ch. 140 (16) n.

10. ἢ ἄλλως κως κ.τ.λ. The sentence is delightfully naïf, and thoroughly characteristic of Hdt., in its cautious simplicity.

14. ἡ Σηπιάς. According to one legend, Sepias was named in memory of the transformation of Thetis into a cuttle fish (σηπία), while pursued by Peleus.

192 3. ὁ χειμῶν ὁ πρῶτος, 'the beginning of the storm'. Cf. Soph. O. C. 477, πρῶτην ξω, 'earliest dawn'. Also Hor. Epp. i. 1. 41, sapientia prima, the beginning of wisdom. Bähr omits ὁ.

7. τὴν ταχίστην ἡπέεγοντο. Ch. 62 (1) n.

8. ἐλπίσαντες, 'in the expectation', lit. having adopted the idea. ἐλπίζειν is not to hope in Hdt.; its meaning is neutral, implying neither wish nor fear. Cf. viii. 12, ἐλπίζοντες πᾶγχυ ἀπολέεσθαι, also viii. 53, 96. Similarly ἐλπεσθαι, cf. ch. 218, 237, and ix. 113, ἐλπόμενός τί οἱ κακὸν εἶναι.

ὀλίγας τινάς, 'only a few', some few, as we say. τινὰς

adds vagueness: the Greeks did not expect any *particular* ships or any particular number.

9. ἐλθόντες, i.e. from Chalcis.

10. Ποσειδέωνος Σωτήρος ἐπωνυμίην, lit. the title of Poseidon the Saviour, i.e. 'Poseidon's title, the Saviour'.

11. ἀπὸ τούτου. From that *circumstance*, i.q. infr. ch. 193, ἐπὶ τούτου. Cf. ch. 121, ἀπ' ἧς.

νομίζοντες, ch. 2 (14) n.

1. ἐπαύσατο...ἔστρωτο. 'Had ceased...was smooth.' Ch. 193 29 (4) n.

4. ἰθέαν ἔπλεον, sc. ὁδόν. Cf. 62 (1) n.

5. φέροντα. The gulf is a marine road.

6. τῆς Μαγνησίης, with χώρος.

8. ἐπ' ὕδωρ...ἐπὶ τὸ κῶας, ch. 32 (5) n.

According to the commonest legend, Heracles was left behind in Mysia, searching for his lost friend, the beautiful Hylas, who had been stolen away by the water-nymphs, while drawing water. Theocr. xiii. Ap. Rhod. i. 1276.

11. ἀφήσειν ἐς τὸ πέλαγος, sc. τὴν νέα. ἀφήσειν replaces the Herodotean ἀπήσειν, in order to mark the connexion with Ἀφεται. Iolcos, where the Argonauts assembled, lay at the head of the bay.

12. ὄρμον ἐποιεῦντο. Cf. ch. 58 (6) n.

9. ἐπ' αἰτίη. ἐπὶ with dat. expresses the *cause*, as well 194 as the *object in view* (infr. ἐπὶ χρήμασι). In either case the idea is, perhaps, that of the basis of the action, or accompanying condition. Cf. ch. 32 (5) n.

11. ἄδικον...ἔδίκασε. Cambyses punished the same offence in another royal judge with equal severity. v. 25.

12. λογιζόμενος κ.τ.λ. By Persian law capital punishment could not be exacted for an isolated offence, but only when the culprit's offences outweighed his services, i. 137.

15. ταχύτερα ἢ σοφώτερα. A convenient euphemism, employed by Cambyses also, in confessing his brother's murder, iii. 65. The idiom of the double comp. is common both in Gk. and Lat. Cf. Cic. Mil. 29, *libentius quam verius*.

16. βασιλέα...διαφυγών, μὴ ἀπολέσθαι. μὴ ἀπολέσθαι ex-

presses the *negative result*, as after verbs of preventing etc. Cf. ch. 51 (6) n.

18. *ἔμελλε*. 'He was destined', a different use from that of ch. 23.

*διαφυγῶν ἔσσεσθαι*. This periphrasis is more common with the perf. partic., but the aor. is found in Soph.: e.g. *σιωπήσας, λυπηθεὶς, ἀντιδοῦς ἔσει*. Cf. also Xen. An. vii. 5, 18, *κατακτανόντες ἔσεσθε*. Hdt. is particularly fond of the constr. with participles; cf. ch. 196, *ἐσβεβληκὼς ἦν*, and ch. 9 (15) n.

20. *μαθόντες*. Cf. ch. 37, *μαθόντι*.

195 3. *Ἀλαβάνδων...Καρίη*. Cf. viii. 136, *τῆς Φρυγίης Ἀλάβανδα πόλις μεγάλη*. The city lay in the border country.

5. *Πάφου*, a Phoenician settlement.

6. *τὰς ἑνδεκα*. Cf. ch. 29 (12) n.

9. *ἀπό*. Cf. ch. 168 n.

10. *τὸν Κορινθίων Ἴσθμόν*. Usually *ὁ Ἴσθμός* simply.

196 5. *Θεσσαλῆς*. In a restricted sense, the dwelling of the Thessalians proper of ch. 132, not including the surrounding country, which fell under their influence and bore their name.

*ἐσβεβληκὼς...τριταῖος*, 'had already entered three days before'. For *καὶ δὴ* cf. iv. 102, *τῶν δὲ καὶ δὴ οἱ βασιλεῖς ἐβουλεύοντο* (the kings were already holding the consultation, when the messengers arrived to assemble them), and ch. 10 (23) n. *τριταῖος*, usually, 'on the third day after'. Cf. vi. 120, *τριταῖοι ἐκ Σπάρτης ἐγένοντο ἐν τῇ Ἀττικῇ*. Here the context requires the other meaning.

8. *Θεσσαλῆς ἵππου*. *Θεσσαλική* is the common form.

*πυθόμενος κ.τ.λ.* The excellence of the Thessalian mares was proverbial; cf. the oracles quoted by R. and Stein:

*γαίης μὲν πάσης τὸ Πελασγικὸν Ἄργος ἄμεινον,  
ἵπποι Θρηίκιαι, Λακεδαιμόνιαι δὲ γυναικες.*

Schol. Theocr. xiv. 48;

and

*ἵππον Θεσσαλικὴν, Λακεδαιμονίαν τε γυναῖκα,  
ἄνδρας θ' οἱ πίνουσ' ἱερὰν πηγὴν Ἀρεθούσης.*

Schol. II. ii. 761.

11. *Ὀνόχωνος...Ἡπιδανός*. Cf. ch. 129.

1. "Αλον. Where the Greeks had landed to occupy Tempe, 197 ch. 173.

Ξέρξη οί. Cf. ch. 167.

4. τὸ ἱρὸν, 'the holy place', i.q. infr. τὸ ἄλσος. In π. 112, on the contrary, ἱρὸν is the building itself, as distinct from the τέμενος and ἄλσος.

Λαφυστίου Διός. The title Λαφύστιος (cf. λαφύσσω, I devour) points to the custom of human sacrifice, and is similar to that of Dionysus, Ὀμηστής. The chief seat of this god's worship was on the Laphystian hill, near Coroneia in Boeotia.

5. Ἀθάμας. According to the common account, Ino, the second wife of Athamas, contrived first to bring about a famine, then to have her step-children Phrixus and Helle doomed as a national sin-offering upon the altar, from which they were rescued, on the Golden Ram, by their goddess-mother Nephele.

8. ἀέθλους. ἄεθλος is (1) a contest, as in Hom.: (2) a task; cf. i. 126, τὸν προκείμενον ἄεθλον: (3) a penal task, imposition of any sort, as here. Distinguish from (viii. 26) τὸ κείμενον ἄεθλον, the appointed prize.

9. ἔργεσθαι τοῦ πρυτανηίου, 'to keep clear of the town hall'; cf. infra, ἔργετο αὐτοῦ. The verb is used with an abl. gen., expressing actions as well as places avoided. Cf. ix. 108, ἐργόμενος τῶν ἄλλων πρήσσει κ.τ.λ.

As the prytaneum was, so to speak, the central home of the community, and contained the sacred hearth, so exclusion from it involved excommunication from civic life.

10. λήϊτον, 'the people's house' (R.), connected with λαός, Att. λεώς. Cf. also λειτουργία, public service.

12. θύσσεσθαι, ch. 39 (17) n. The accursed family, and especially its head, would probably try to conceal their identity, and to mingle with the other citizens.

πρὶν ἢ...μέλλη. Ch. 8 (33) n.

16. ἀλίσκωνται ἐσελθόντες, 'are convicted of having entered', i.e. are identified as those who entered.

17. ὥς θύεται. The return to the sing. is harsh, but serves to make it clear that the victim in each case is a single one.



ἐξηγέοντο. The finite verb helps to relieve the long continued orat. obl.

στέμμασι πᾶς πυκασθεῖς, like an ordinary sacrificial victim. πᾶς closely with πυκασθεῖς, 'decked all over' (Stein).

18. ἐξαχθεῖς, sc. ἐκ τοῦ πρυτανητοῦ, θύεται being understood. The scene was perhaps some deserted spot on the sea shore, as in the case of the human victims at the Attic Thargelia. The particip. ἐξαχ., instead of a finite verb, parallel to θύεται, is irregular.

19. τοῦ Φρίξου παιδός. Phrixus had three other sons.

20. καθαρμόν τῆς χώρας, i.q. κάθαρμα or φαρμακός, a scape-goat, by whose death the land was to be delivered from a drought, sent in consequence of the ill-treatment of Nephele by Athamas.

22. ἀπικόμενος οὗτος κ.τ.λ. In 'Athamas', the drama of Soph., Heracles appeared as the deliverer.

26. κατὰ, 'in the neighbourhood of'.

198 3. κόλπον θαλάσσης. The Malian Gulf.

4. ἄμπωτίς τε καὶ ῥήχι. The rise and fall of the tide in the Mediterranean is scarcely perceptible, but on this coast, owing to the flatness, it is considerable; hence the observation of Hdt. (R.).

9. ἰόντι, dat. of 'standard', or 'person judging'.

10. Ἀντικύρη. This, as well as the Phocian Anticyra, was famous for its hellebore, the cure for madness. Cf. Hor. A. P. 300, *tribus Anticyris caput insanabile*. Its exact site is difficult to ascertain, owing to the great change which has taken place in the course of the Spercheius, and in the coast line. See map.

12. διὰ ἑκοσὶ κου σταδίων, ch. 30 (6) n. At the present day the Dyras and Melas unite, and flow into the Spercheius.

13. Ἡρακλεῖ καιομένῳ, ch. 176 n.

199 5. Τρηχίς. The site of Trachis, on the hill side commanding the plain, is marked by catacombs.

6. πλέθρα. Here, square measure. The expanse amounts to about 5087½ acres, and was therefore sufficient for the encampment of the Persian army.

9. Ἀσωπὸς, still recognisable from the ravine (διασφάξ)

through which it passes, flowing *now* straight to join the Spercheius.

1. Φοῖνιξ. Evidently so named from the red iron deposit, which still distinguishes a small stream, just 15 furlongs from Thermopylae proper. This stream, however, has also changed its course, and now joins the Spercheius.

3. κατὰ δὲ...ἔστι. The narrow way 'in front of' the Pass mentioned ch. 176.

5. δέδμηται. The road had to be firmly paved and built up, owing to the softness of the surrounding alluvial land.

8. Ἀνθήλη. No traces of Anthele, nor of the sacred buildings, remain. χῶρος εὐρύς is a stony slope of triangular shape.

11. Δήμητρος...ἰρόν. Demeter and Apollo shared the presidency of this, the greatest of Hellenic sacred leagues. Its assemblies were held twice a year, in spring and autumn, both at Delphi and Anthele. The members, who, in spite of their widely differing grades of importance, held equal votes, included, besides the tribes mentioned in ch. 132, the Dorians, Ionians, and Phocians. Two great statutes of the Amphictyony, the object of which was mainly religious, forbade members to raze each other's cities, or to cut off their water supply in case of siege.

12. Ἀμφικτυόνος. Yet another eponymous hero, introduced simply in order to explain a name. Cf ch. 61. Ἀμφικτύονες are in reality 'the dwellers round'. Cf. viii. 104, ἀμφικτίονες, and ch. 148, περικτίονες etc.

3. ἐν τῇ δώδω. In the passage where the hot springs and the well were, between the two narrowest spots, by the Phoenix and Alpeni.

9. μέχρι Τρηχίνος, 'as far south as Trachis'.

πρὸς νότον κ. μεσαμβρίην. Cf. ch. 129.

10. φερόντων, 'lying towards', 'in the direction of'.

ταύτης τῆς ἡπείρου, the mainland of Greece.

4. Ὀρχομενοῦ τῆς Ἀρκადίης. Distinguish fr. the Boeotian Orchomenos of viii. 34.

6. Ἀρκάδων. The Arcadians were a warlike people, and had for many years resisted the growing power of Sparta.

7. Φλιοῦντος. A Dorised city of Achæan origin, lying between Argos and Sicyon.

8. Μυκηναίων ὀγδώκοντα. The ancient power of Mycenæ had been transferred to Argos, but not her ancient spirit.

203 1. ἐπικλητοὶ ἐγένοντο, 'had been summoned to their aid'. Cf. v. 75, of patron divinities, ἐπικλητοὶ σφι ἑόντες εἶποντο, and infra VIII. 101, where ἐπικλητοὶ are specially summoned councillors.

3. αὐτοὶ...ἐπεκαλέσαντο. They did not take the field spontaneously, nor in obedience to any superior city, but on the summons of the united patriot force, who, as the champions of Greece, might well call themselves οἱ Ἕλληνες.

6. πᾶσαν ἡμέρην, 'every day'. Cf. 181 (4) n.

7. εἷη ἐν φυλακῇ. The passive of ἔχειν ἐν φυλακῇ. Cf. ch. 207, νῆπι. 23.

10. οὐ γὰρ θεὸν κ.τ.λ. So Dem., speaking of Philip, μὴ γὰρ ὡς θεῷ νομίζεται' ἐκείνῳ τὰ παρόντα πεπηγέναι πράγματα ἀθάνατα, IV. 42.

12. ἐξ ἀρχῆς γινομένη. 'From the moment of his coming into being.' γινομένη explains ἐξ ἀρχῆς.

11—13. εἶναι δὲ...μέγιστα. The whole history of Hdt. is an illustration of this truth, cf. ch. 46.

13. αὐτῶν, i.e. τῶν θνητῶν.

14. δόξης, 'expectation', strong hope (of success). Cf. the splendid lines of Aesch. Suppl. 95 (Ζεὺς) λάπτει δ' ἐλπίδων ἀφ' ὑψιπύργων | πανάλεις βροτούς. δόξα may here possibly be 'reputation', but this meaning seems less forcible; cf. Thucyd. II. 42, ἅμα ἀκμῇ τῆς δόξης μᾶλλον ἢ τοῦ δέους ἀπηλλάγησαν.

15. ἄν. Stein raises a doubt as to the genuineness of this word, and there are certainly grave objections to it, for (1) if taken with πεσεῖν, which is hardly possible after ὀφείλειν, it destroys the whole force of the reflexion, the point of which is that X. is bound to fail, not that he is liable to the chance of failure (πεσεῖν ἄν), which would be but a poor encouragement: (2) to take it (as Stein) with ὀφείλειν (= ὀφείλοι ἄν) is very harsh, and, like the former interpretation, weakens the meaning.

204 2. ἐκάστων, after στρατηγοί.

4. Λεωνίδης...τοῦ Ἡρακλέος. Leonidas belonged to the

elder and more honoured line of kings. The less honourable branch was descended from Procles, younger twin brother of Eurysthenes, son of Aristodemus, vi. 52, and was at this time represented by Leotychides, kinsman and successor to the deposed Demaratus. For the pedigree of Leotychides, cf. viii. 131.

According to the tradition of their descent from Heracles, the Spartan kings were not Dorians, but Achaeans, and of a different race from their people.

12. **ἐξ ἀπροσδοκίτου.** Ch. 205, ἐκ τοῦ ἐμφανέος. Cf. ἐκ τῆς ἰθέης (straightway), ἐκ νέης, ἐκ καινῆς, etc.

2. **Κλεομένεος.** After an eventful and aggressive life, 205 Cleomenes went raving mad, and was put in confinement, but managed nevertheless to make away with himself.

**Δωριέος.** Cf. ch. 158.

**ἀπελήλατο τῆς φροντίδος.** Cf. ch. 161.

4. **ἄπαιδος ἔρσενος γόνου.** Cf. ch. 184 (2) n.

7. **ἀνέβαινε.** Notice the tense, 'came to devolve upon'. ἀνεχώρησε and περιῆλθε are also used with the same meaning. Cf. ch. 4, and i. 187, ἐς Δαρεῖον περιῆλθε ἡ βασιληΐη.

8. **Κλεομβρότου.** Cf. viii. 71.

9. **Κλεομένεος θυγατέρα.** Gorgo. Cf. ch. 239.

10. **ὅς τότε κ.τ.λ.,** referring to the clause ending βασιληΐη, the words between having formed a double parenthesis.

**ἐπιλεξάμενος τε...έόντες.** 'Having selected 300 of the appointed class (ἄνδρας τ. κ.) who had sons living at the time.'

300 horsemen was the customary royal guard (cf. viii. 124), though Hdt. mentions a special 100 in vi. 56. At Mantinea King Agis was attended by οἱ τριακόσιοι ἱππῆς καλούμενοι. The choice of those who left representatives of their family still living is characteristic of the policy of Sparta, which throughout attached great importance to the preservation of its true Dorian citizens. In spite, however, of all precautions, διὰ τὴν ὀλιγανθρωπίαν ἀπώλετο, Arist. Pol. ii. 9.

For τε...καί, which in sense join τοὺς κατεστεῶτας with τοῖσι ...έόντες, both expressions being descriptive of ἄνδρας, cf. ii. 79, καὶ αἰοδὴν τε ταύτην πρώτην καὶ μούνην γενέσθαι, and Thucyd. iv. 9, ἀσπίσι τε φαύλαις καὶ οἰσύναις ταῖς πολλαῖς. For ἐτύγχανον, cf. ch. 102, n.



We might, however, understand that there were not as many as 300 of the class, and that the number had therefore to be filled up from outside.

13. τοὺς...εἶπον. 'Whom I mentioned, and included in the list.' Cf. ch. 97.

17. μηδίζεν. Subj. to κατηγογ. This is the common Attic constr.; cf. Thucyd. i. 95, κατηγορεῖτο δ' αὐτοῦ μηδισμός.

19. εἴ τε καὶ κ.τ.λ., 'or whether they would go so far as to, etc.'

20. ἀλλοφρονέοντες ἔπεμπον. A hexametric ending.

ἀλλοφρονέων is used in various senses:—

(1) Thinking of other things, i.e. abstracted; cf. Od. x. 374, ἐσθέμεναι δ' ἐκέλευεν, | ἀλλ' ἤμην ἀλλοφρονέων.

(2) Unconscious, fainting; cf. Theocr. xxii. 128, πᾶς δ' ἐπὶ γαίῃ | κεῖτ' ἀλλοφρονέων.

(3) Out of one's mind, frenzied; cf. Hdt. v. 85, ὑπὸ τούτων (thunder and earthquake) ἀλλοφρονῆσαι.

(4) As here, 'with adverse feelings'.

According to Diodorus, the 400 Thebans were sent voluntarily by a patriotic faction. The Thebans of the next generation, however, make no mention of this fact, though they state, in excuse of their μηδισμός, that δυναστεία ὀλίγων ἀνδρῶν εἶχε τὰ πράγματα...καὶ ἡ ξύμπασα πόλις οὐκ αὐτοκράτωρ οὔσα ἐαντῆς τοῦτ' ἔπραξεν (i.e. ἐμήδισεν), Thucyd. iii. 62.

206 5. ὑπερβαλλομένους, 'delaying'. Also 'to postpone', foll. by an acc. (1) of the action; (2) of the time during which; cf. ix. 45 (ἣν ὑπερβάλῃται) τὴν συμβολήν. Ib. 51, κείνην τὴν ἡμέρην συμβολὴν μὴ ποιούμενοι.

6. Κάρνεια. A Peloponnesian festival, of ancient date and warlike character, held in August, in honour of Apollo Carneus, to whom the whole month (Κάρνειος, Eur. Alc. 449) was consecrated; see Smith's *Antiqu.* At numerous important crises Sparta's action was thwarted by similar religious, or nominally religious, scruples, e.g. at the time of Marathon, before Plataea, and during the occupation of Pylos in 425 B.C.

ὀρτάσαντες. Cf. ch. 2 (5) n.

9. ἔτερα τοιαῦτα. A frequent expression, characteristically

Greek, from its exactitude: the actions of the allies would be distinct and yet identical, cf. ch. 39 (11).

10. Ὀλυμπιάς. The 75th historic celebration; the games lasted five days, concluding with the day of the first full moon after the summer solstice, but hostilities were forbidden throughout the month (*ιερομηνία*).

12. διακριθήσεσθαι...τὸν πόλεμον. Cf. VIII. 18, of the combatants themselves, *διακριθέντες ἐκ τῆς ναυμαχίης*.

6. Φωκέων καὶ Λοκρῶν. The silence of the Boeotians 207 showed their real intentions.

περισπερχόντων. The word expresses intolerant opposition.

10. ὀλίγων...ἀλέξασθαι, lit. few for warding off, i.e. 'too few to etc.' Cf. ch. 175 n., *ἀγχοῦ...ὥστε*.

4. εἰσι...ποιοῖεν. Cf. ch. 168.

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6. Λακεδαιμόνιοί τε καὶ Λεωνίδης. In an enumeration the most important person or thing always comes last; cf. the common *ἄλλοι τε καί*.

10. τοῦ τείχεος, ch. 176. The wall ran between the two hot springs.

12. ὁ δέ. Cf. ch. 6 (28) n.

ἐμάνθανε. Cf. ch. 37. Infra ch. 209 (7), *μαθεῖν* has the common sense, 'to understand'.

τοῖσι...τὰ ὄπλα ἔκειτο, 'who were stationed, encamped'. Cf. IX. 52, *ἔθεντο...τὰ ὄπλα. καὶ οἱ μὲν ἐστρατοπεδεύοντο*.

15. τὰς κόμας. The Spartans, like the aristocrats at Athens, had retained or revived (cf. I. 82) the ancient usage of wearing the hair long. At Athens the custom evidenced foppery or Laconism in any man below the rank of knighthood, cf. Ar. Av. 1282. Hence arose the curious phrase, found V. 71, *ἐκόμησε ἐπὶ τυραννίδι*, 'He aspired to royal power', 'assumed a grand air with a view to...'

19. ἀλογίης τε ἐνεκύρησε. *ἐγκυρεῖν*, usually followed by the dat., ch. 218, here takes a gen. on the analogy of the simple *κυρεῖν*. Similarly *ἐντυγχάνειν*, IV. 140, *λελυμένης τῆς γεφύρης ἐντυχόντες*.

1. τὸ ἐόν, 'the truth'. Cf. ch. 237, *τῷ ἐόντι*. I. 95, *τὸν ἐόντα* 209 λέγειν λόγον.

3. ἀλλ'...γάρ. To be distinguished from the elliptic use of ἀλλὰ γάρ, ch. 143. Here ἀλλὰ belongs to μετεπέμψατο, γὰρ and its verb being anticipatory as in ch. 135.

7. ἕκαστα τούτων. Cf. ch. 43, ἐκείνων ἕκαστα.

9. καὶ πρότερον. Ch. 101—4.

11. γέλωτά με ἔθεν, ch. 105. For γέλως, 'laughing-stock', cf. III. 29, οὐ χαίροντες γέλωτα ἐμέ θήσεσθε. Soph. O. C. 902, γέλως δ' ἐγὼ...γένωμαι.

τά περ...ταῦτα, 'what trouble would come of this' (constr. τά περ πρήγματα ἐκβησόμενα ὥρων ταῦτα), lit. 'what trouble I saw this would turn out'. Cf. Eur. Med. 229, κάκιστος ἀνδρῶν ἐκβέβηχ' οὐμὸς πόσις.

13. ὁγὼν μέγιστος, 'my highest endeavour'.

16. ἔχων ἐστί. Cf. ch. 28, ἀρκέων ἐστί βλος. 167, ἐστί λεγόμενος.

19. τὸ ὑπομένον = τοὺς ὑπομένοντας. Cf. ch. 103, τὸ πολιτικόν, and 223, τοῦ ἀπολλυμένου.

25. τοσοῦτοι, so many and no more. Cf. Thucyd. II. 29, διὰ τοσούτου, this short distance, opposed to πολλῶν ἡμερῶν ὁδοῦ.

27. χρᾶσθαι. Cf. ch. 141.

ὥς ἀνδρὶ ψεύστη. A great criminal. Cf. I. 138, of the Persians, αἰσχιστον δὲ αὐτοῖσι τὸ ψεῦδεσθαι νενόμισται, δεύτερα δὲ τὸ ὀφείλειν χρέος.

210 1. τέσσερας ἡμέρας. 'He let four full (ἐξ) days elapse', cf. ch. 183.

5. ἀναιδείη...διαχρώμενοι, 'through sheer impudence and recklessness'.

8. ἐπέπεσον φερόμενοι, 'charged headlong'; the mid. φέρεσθαι is used of the rushing wind, and of persons carried on by an impetus, cf. VIII. 91. The act. is rare in this sense; cf. VIII. 87, φέρουσα ἐνέβαλε-νῆτ φιλήη.

10. μεγάλως προσπταίοντες, 'heavily punished'. Cf. ch. 22.

13. ἄνδρες. Frequently in this strong sense. Cf. II. 120, ἀνὴρ ἐκείνου μᾶλλον ἐὼν. III. 134, ἄνδρα εἶναι τὸν προεστειῶτα.

14. δι' ἡμέρης, 'throughout the day'. Cf. VI. 12, πόνον παρείχε δι' ἡμέρης.

211 5. Ὑδάρνης. Ch. 83.

6. οὐδὲν πλέον. Ch. 168 n.

9. δόρασι βραχυτέροισι. For a full description of their equipment, cf. ch. 61.

11. ἀποδεικνύμενοι... ἐξεπιστάμενοι. 'Proving that they had a thorough knowledge of, etc.' ἄλλα, 'in other ways'. Notice the finite φεύγεσκον, answering to the partic. ἀποδεικνύμενοι.

14. δῆθεν. Frequently expressing *pretence*. Cf. i. 75, δοῦναι φέροντες ὡς ἄγρην δῆθεν. viii. 5, ὡς παρ' ἐωντοῦ δῆθεν διδοῦς.

16. ὑπέστρεφον, 'would turn suddenly'. ἀν with the Imperf. or Aor. Indic. is used to express repetition. Cf. Gdw. § 30, 2. For a good example of the Imperf. cf. Soph. Ph. 290 seqq.

ἀντίοι εἶναι. Cf. ch. 51 (6) n.

20. παραλαβεῖν, 'gain'. τῆς ἐσόδου with both παρ. and πειρώμενοι.

21. κατὰ τέλεα, i.e. a single division at a time. Cf. ch. 81.

2. προσόδοισι τῆς μάχης, 'attacks', i.q. πρόσσodon, ch. 223. 212

3. θεύμενον. Xerxes here, as afterwards at Salamis, viewed the action from one of the surrounding heights.

10. ἐν μέρει ἑκαστοι. Each division in turn held the post in front of the wall. Cf. ch. 208, ἐτυχεν δὲ κ.τ.λ.

11. τὸ οὐρῶς. Anopaea, ch. 216, or, as known to later writers, Callidromus, one of the highest peaks of Oeta.

12. τὴν ἀτραπὸν, the fatal path, which the Trachinians had shewn the Greeks on their arrival, ch. 175.

13. ἀλλοιότερον. For the superfluous compar. cf. ch. 50, κρέσσον μᾶλλον ἤ.

1. ὃ τι χρήσεται...πρήγματι. Lit. 'what he should do 213 with'. Cf. v. 12, ὃ τι χρήσεται τῷ ἵππῳ. Here, 'what he should do under the present circumstances'. Cf. viii. 135. ὃ τι, adv. acc., 'in what way', 'how'.

6. Θερμοπύλας. Here in a wide sense, of the whole narrow tract, cf. ch. 176; the path reached the shore some distance behind the Pass proper.

διέφθειρε, 'worked the ruin of'. Aor.

9. τῶν Πυλαγόρων. The Deputies from the Amphictyonic states.



10. τὴν Πυλαίην, sc. ἀγορὴν, used to denote the League's meeting place, as well as the meeting itself.

15. σημαίνω. The promise is not fulfilled. Similarly in i. 106 and 184, Hdt. promises to give an account of the capture of Nineveh by the Medes, and of the early kings of Babylon, though no such descriptions are to be found in his writings. These omissions have been thought a proof that our author died before he had put the final touches to his work.

214 2. Καρύστιος, 'of Carystus', one of the chief towns of Euboea.

5. περιγησάμενοι τὸ οὖρος τοῖσι Πέρσησι, 'who guided the Persians round by the mountain'. περιγέεσθαι, like κατηγέεσθαι and the simple ἡγ., takes a dat. of the person and acc. of the sphere. Cf. ch. 183, and ix. 15, αὐτῷ τὴν ὁδὸν ἡγέοντο ἐς Σ. Cf. ch. 7 (7) n.

8. ἐπεκήρυξαν. ἐπικηρύσσειν (ἐπὶ τινὶ (χρήματα) is a technical phrase for *setting a price* on the head of any one.

10. κου, 'surely'.

φεύγοντα... αἰτλήν, 'lived in exile to escape this charge'. φεύγ. Imperf. Distinguish from the technical Attic, φεύγειν δίκην, 'to stand one's trial'.

12. εἰδείη... εἴη. 'For Onetas would be likely to know the path, even without being a Melian, if he had been much in the district.'

The Opt. may be explained, as in the cases we have already noticed, by the point of view of the writer, whose idea is 'that Onetas might turn out to be acquainted, etc., if it were to be shewn that he had been etc.' Cf. ch. 180, 150.

Hdt. is explaining why the nationality of Onetas is not quoted as a third proof that Ephialtes, and not he, was the traitor.

ἐὼν μὴ, 'without being', if he were not; the negation, though known to be true, is put as a supposition, and μὴ, not οὐ, is therefore correct, cf. ch. 101. For the order Stein compares ch. 96, ὥς οὐ στρατηγοί.

215 3. τῶν ἑστρατήγεε' Ὑδάρνης. The 10,000 Immortals.

9. ἐν σκέπη τοῦ πολέμου. Cf. ch. 172. For the Thesalian inroad cf. ch. 176.

ἐκ τε...Μηλιεῦσι. 'So long before had the Malians proved it (i.e. ἡ ἐσβολή) of no use', i.e. of no use as a point of defence. For the meaning of χρηστή cf. III. 78, τῷ μὲν δὴ τὰ τόξα ἦν χρηστὰ οὐδέν. (Stein.) Others take ἡ ἀτραπὸς as subject, and transl. οὐδέν χρηστή, 'pernicious'. This rendering, however, seems forced, although it is certainly more natural to take ἡ ἀτραπὸς as subj. to καταδέδεκτο.'

2. τῆς διασφάγος, cf. ch. 199. The gorge, which would 216 be quite out of sight of the Greeks in the Pass, begins close to Trachis and the site of Xerxes' camp.

5. κατὰ ῥάχιν, along a ridge, N. of the summit of Callidromus or Anopaea.

8. Μελάμπυγον. So called after a surname of Heracles, who here encountered two of the comic robbers called Κέρκωπες.

9. τὸ στενότατον. The narrow passage at Alpeni behind the Pass proper. Cf. ch. 176.

3. ἐν δεξιῇ κ.τ.λ. See map: all the cliffs immediately 217 overhanging the shore were Trachinian.

5. ἡὼς τε δὴ...ἐγένοντο. 'As the dawn was breaking they reached etc.' Cf. ix. 47, ἡὼς τε διέφαινε καὶ διαλλάσσουντο τὰς τάξεις. Notice the graphic effect of the co-ordinate clauses, and cf. ch. 12 (2) n. Leake estimates the ascent at about 12 miles, and thinks it probable that the Persians took 8 hours over it, from 8 P.M. to 4 A.M.

ἐπ' ἀκρωτηρίῳ, i.e. the highest part of the ridge they were ascending, not the summit of Callidromus. Cf. infra φεύγοντες ἐπὶ τὸν κόρυμβον.

10. ὑπὸ τῶν εἴρηται, i.e. ὑπὸ τούτων ὑφ' ὧν εἴρηται φυλάσσεσθαι αὐτήν. 'By whom it has been stated that it was guarded.' Distinguish fr. εἴρητο, ch. 26, 'orders had been given'.

12. Λεωνίδῃ, with ὑποδεξάμενοι, for which cf. viii. 102, ὑποδέκεται ταῦτα ποιήσιν.

2. ὦδε, with ἔμαθον.

6. ἀνά τε ἔδραμον...καὶ ἐνέδυνον καὶ κ.τ.λ., 'sprang up and were beginning to arm themselves, when instantly the barbarians were upon them'. The Imperf. represents them still in the act of arming. Bähr and Bl. read ἔδυντο.

17. ἐπιστάμενοι, 'imagining' (wrongly), a meaning common in Hdt. Cf. VIII. 25, 88, 132.

18. ἀρχὴν, 'originally', cf. ch. 220, VIII. 128, 132, etc. From this sense of 'originally', or 'to begin with', arose the use of ἀρχὴν with negatives to mean 'at all'; cf. ch. 9, οὐδὲ λέγω ἀρχὴν = 'to begin with, I do not even mention', 'I do not even go so far as to mention', i.e. 'I do not mention at all'.

19. οἱ δέ. Ch. 6 (28) n. Leake supposes them to have spent five hours on the descent.

219 2. Μεγιστῆς. Cf. ch. 221.

4. ἐπὶ δὲ...ἐξαγγείλαντες. 'Next after him, it was deserters who announced.' For ἐπὶ, 'next' or 'after', cf. VIII. 67, πρῶτος μὲν ὁ Σιδώνιος...μετὰ δὲ ὁ Τύριος, ἐπὶ δὲ ὄλλοι, also ch. 2 (11) and 107. Diodorus mentions the desertion of a single Aeolian from Cyme.

6. ἡμεροσκοποῖ. Cf. ch. 183.

220 3. αὐτῷ δὲ...οὐκ ἔχειν. Dep. on νομίζων, or some such word, supplied from κηδόμενος. So infra οὐ καλῶς ἔχειν depends on φάναι supplied from κελεῦσαι. Cf. ch. 104 (24) n.

With αὐτῷ for αὐτῷ οἱ or ἐωυτῷ cf. I. 86, ἔλεγε...ὥς αὐτῷ πάντα ἀποβεβήκοι τῇ περ ἐκείνος εἶπε, and ch. 149 n.

As to the Spartan code of honour, cf. ch. 104.

5. ἀρχὴν, 'expressly': their 'express purpose' was that for which they had *originally* set out. Cf. ch. 218 n.

6. ταύτῃ...εἰμι. From a comparison of the phrases ταύτῃ πλεῖστος γνώμῃν (I. 120), ὁ αὐτὸς εἰμι τῇ γνώμῃ (Thucyd. III. 38), it appears that ταύτῃ is adverbial; cf. ch. 143, ταύτῃ ἀποφαίνομενον. τῇ γνώμῃ, 'in opinion', = γιγνώσκων. πλεῖστός εἰμι, 'I incline to' (the greatest part of me is). Hence lit. 'Thither rather do I incline in judgment'. Bähr emends to τὴν γνώμην.

ταύτῃ, for τῇδε, is explained by Λεωνίδην...ἔχειν.

10. μένοντι κ.τ.λ. The words express the facts as they pictured themselves to the king's mind; this explains the Imperf. He felt that, while he remained at his post, a store of glory was being laid up for him, and the welfare of Sparta was being saved from annihilation.

15. γένεσθαι...ἀπολέσθαι. The Aorist, instead of the Future, Infin. represents the 'Prophetic Present' of direct speech; cf. infr. *πέρθεται*, and ch. 6 (21) n. For the idea compare ch. 167; Hamilcar's sacrifice, and the conduct of the Decii in Roman history.

17. λέγοντα. Cf. II. 133, ἐκ δὲ τοῦ χρηστηρίου αὐτῷ δεύτερα ἐλθεῖν λέγοντα κ.τ.λ. (Stein).

19. ἄστυ ἐρικυδές. A strange 'synizesis', -v and ε must be run into one another.

21. Λακεδαίμονος οὔρος. οὔρος may mean (1) *guardian*, (2) *hill*, Ion. for ὄρος, (3) *boundary*, Ion. for ὅρος. Comparing ch. 141, Κέκροπος οὔρος, in another oracle, we may assume that the word has the same meaning in both passages. In ch. 141 sense (1) is quite unsuitable, as Cecrops would himself be a 'guardian' of Attica. In this passage, on the other hand, (2) would be inappropriate, for Sparta lay in a valley, κοίλη Λακεδαίμων. We may therefore reasonably conclude that (3), a meaning applicable in both cases, is the right one. 'The boundary of Lacedaemon' means all that lies within that boundary.

22. τὸν, i.e. τὸν βάρβαρον, the enemy who, though unnamed, is foremost in the mind of both priestess and inquirers.

ταύρων...λεόντων. Some see here a reference to the lions and wild oxen of ch. 125, 126. We can hardly believe that the lion and the ox are more than emblems of physical strength.

24. τῶνδ' ἕτερον. The king or the city.

δαῖ, with δάσσηται. πάντα, wholly.

25. δῆ. Resumptive: the indirect speech is still an explanation of ταύτη.

βουλόμενον...Σπαρτιητέων. I. The natural way of translating the Greek, as it stands, is:—'Eager to lay up a store of glory for himself alone among Spartans'. The objection to this rendering is that the consequence of the desire, i.e. his dismissal of the *allies*, may seem not altogether logical, especially as the 300 who remained with him were all Spartiatae. On the other hand, it may be urged, that Leonidas.



was thinking of the oracle, which required the sacrifice of *one Spartan king*, and hoped that by his unprecedented and individual act of self devotion he might purchase the deliverance of the Spartans, as a nation. For this purpose the presence of the allies was no longer an advantage.

II. The meaning which would best suit the context might seem to be:—‘Eager to store up glory for the Spartans only’; and this is the sense in which the spurious Plutarch takes the passage. De Malig. Her. § 31.

To express this meaning, we should expect *μόνων Σπαρτιητέων*, an emendation adopted by Bekker; although it might perhaps be argued, that the usage of the adv. for the more common adjective is justified by passages like the following: Thucyd. vi. 54, *εικοστήν μόνον πρoσσόμενοι*. Ib. 56, *ἐν ᾗ μόνον ἡμέρα*. Apart, however, from this consideration, the gen. comes awkwardly after *κλέος καταθέσθαι*. A dat. would have seemed more natural.

III. We might feel inclined to meet the objections to *μοῦνον* and *Σπαρτιητέων* by translating:—‘Desiring simply to win *glory* for the Spartans’ (i.e. without hope of success); but here again we have the difficulty of the gen., and indeed the meaning does not come naturally from the order of the words.

All things considered, version I. seems the best.

27. *μᾶλλον*. A repetition of *μᾶλλον* (*τῇ γνώμῃ πλείστος εἰμι*).

28. *οὕτω*, i.e. *γνώμῃ διενειχθέντας*. Cf. ch. 119 n.

*οἴχεσθαι τοὺς οἰχομένους*. Cf. ch. 175, *ἤλωσαν οἱ ἀλόντες*.

221 3. *τὸν μάντιν*. It was common for a seer to accompany a Greek host, cf. ch. 6 (16). The prophets of Acarnania were specially celebrated: one of these had encouraged Pisistratus in his attempt upon Athens, i. 62.

5. *Μελάμποδος*. Introducer of the rites of Dionysus into Greece, ii. 49.

7, 8. *ἀποπέμπων—ἀποπεμπόμενος*. ‘Tentative’ presents. Cf. ch. 139 (8) n.

9. *ἀπέλιπε*. The majority of mss. here read *ἀπελίπετο*, but as the Middle of this compound is not used by Hdt. in the sense of ‘departing’ or forsaking, which is clearly required here, I have followed Bähr in reading *ἀπέλιπε*. The following

το- in τὸν may have caused confusion. For the simple λείπεσθαι cf. ch. 8 (18).

6. ἀέκοντες...καὶ οὐ βουλόμενοι. Cf. ch. 8 (23), τιμωρίην 222 κ. τίσιν. 'He (Leonidas) knew that, if they survived this day, they would only serve to swell the ranks of the Persians', Curt. Perhaps he also hoped that the death of these 400 would create in Thebes a repugnance to Persia, and in the mind of Xerxes irritation against Thebes.

10. καταμείναντες. The aorist marks their remaining as a single act following on one definite resolution.

1. ἡλίου ἀνατείλαντος σπονδάς. Cf. ch. 54, ὡς δ' ἐπα- 223 νέτελλε ὁ ἥλιος σπένδων κ.τ.λ. For ἐποιήσατο, 'had made', cf. ch. 29 (4).

2. ἐπισχὼν χρόνον. 'After a pause.' Cf. ix. 49, ὁ μὲν ταῦτα εἶπας καὶ ἐπισχὼν χρόνον...ἀπαλλάσσετο.

ἐς...πληθῶρην. The forenoon, from about 9 to 11 A.M. Cf. iv. 181, where ἀγορῆς πληθουσύνης is placed between ὄρθρον and μεσημβρίη, and ii. 104, where ἀγορῆς διαλύσιος also precedes μεσοῦσα ἡμέρη. For similar expressions cf. supra περὶ λύχων ἀφὰς, and the Homeric βουλευτόνδε.

3. πρόσσodon. Cf. ch. 212.

9. τὴν ἐπὶ θανάτῳ ἔξodon. For this phrase cf. the examples quoted ch. 62 (1) n.

11. τοῦ αὐχένος. Hdt. uses this word of any narrow tract, whether of land or water; cf. iv. 89, τοῦ ποταμοῦ τὸν αὐχένα, and iv. 85, of the Bosphorus.

τὸ μὲν γὰρ...ἐφυλάσσετο. The defence of the wall was their real object, and behind it lay their position; nevertheless even on the previous days they had advanced as far as 'the narrows in front' near the Phoenix, and now they proceeded still further, and attacked the Persians before the latter had reached these narrows.

16. ἔχοντες μαστίγας, cf. ch. 22, 56. The theory of Xerxes given in ch. 103 is now put to the test.

20. ἦν δὲ λόγος οὐδεὶς. Cf. ch. 170, οὐκ ἐπὶ ἄριθμός.

14, 15, 23. ἐμάχοντο—ἐπιπτον—ἀπεδείκνυντο. The changes of subject are harsh, but the sense is perfectly clear. Cf. ch. 88, 210.

24. παραχρεώμενοι. 'Acting recklessly', without forethought. Cf. iv. 159, ἄτε γὰρ οὐ πεπειρημένοι πρότερον... Ἑλλήνων καὶ παραχρεώμενοι. So also with an acc., to 'treat recklessly', or carelessly; cf. viii. 20, παραχρησάμενοι τὸν Βάκιδος χρησμόν.

25. ἀτέοντες. A still stronger word, used in the same sense of frantic boldness, II. xx. 332.

224 4. πόνω. Cf. ch. 190 n.

7. ἀξίω. Cf. ch. 96, ἐπάξιοι.

8. ἀπάντων τῶν τριηκοσίων. The names were recorded at Sparta.

15. οἶκον, 'substance'. Cf. L. and S. οἰκία.

16. ἐπέδωκε. The regular word for giving as *dower*, as ἐκιδόναι is for giving *in marriage*.

ῶς. Ch. 1 (13) n.

225 1. δῆ. Resumptive: the brothers of Xerxes are doubtless the sons of Darius first mentioned. Blakesley would have us suppose them a fresh pair.

2. ὑπὲρ τοῦ νεκροῦ. We are reminded of the Homeric contests over the bodies of fallen chiefs.

3. ὤθισμός. Of a close mêlée. Cf. ix. 62, ἐς ὃ ἀπίκοντο ἐς ὤθισμόν. Metaphorically viii. 78, ὤθισμός λόγων πολλός. So also iii. 76, ὠθίζεσθαι, to dispute.

4. ἀρετῇ, 'by their bravery'. No one can fail to be struck by the simplicity of these wonderfully grand and vivid chapters. Great as is the opportunity for eulogy and national glorification, Hdt. scarcely uses a word of praise; he leaves the facts to speak for themselves.

6. τοῦτο δὲ συνεστήκεε. 'This mêlée lasted.' Cf. ch. 142.

8. τὸ νείκος. Homeric, in this sense.

11. ἕζοντο, 'stationed themselves'. Cf. viii. 52.

τὸν κολωνόν. A conical hillock standing in the very narrowest part of the Pass, identified by Leake.

13. ὁ λίθινος λέων. The lion was apparently extant in the time of the Emperor Tiberius; the following inscription was written for it by Simonides:

Θηρῶν μὲν κάρτιστος ἐγὼ, θνατῶν δ' ὃν ἐγὼ νῦν  
φρουρῶ τῷδε τάφῳ λατνῷ ἐμβεβαώς.

‘Αλλ’ εἰ μὴ θυμόν γε Λέων ἐμὸν ὡς ὄνομ’ εἶχεν,  
οὐκ ἂν ἐγὼ τύμβῳ τῷδ’ ἐπέθηκα πόδας.

Apart from the allusion to the name *Leonidas*, a lion is said to have been the device of the Spartan kings.

ἐπὶ Λεωνίδῃ. ‘In honour of L.’ Cf. *Od.* xxiv. 91, ἐπὶ σοι κατέθηκε...ἄεθλα.

The bones of *Leonidas* were afterwards carried to Sparta by *Pausanias*.

A different and highly improbable account of the battle is given by *Diodorus*, who makes the Greeks, on hearing of their betrayal, attack the Persian camp, threaten *Xerxes*, and there meet their end.

2. ὅμως. Where all were heroes, it might have seemed impossible to name the bravest.

8. αὐτῶν, i.e. τῶν βαρβάρων.

9. τὸν δέ. *Anacolouthic*, as is often the case after a parenthesis or long sentence.

10. πάντα ἀγαθὰ, ‘sheer gain’. Cf. *Eur. Med.* 453, πᾶν κέρδος ἡγοῦ ζημιουμένη φυγῇ (deem it sheer gain that you are, etc.).

14. ἔπεα. Cf. ch. 143.

3. τοῖσι...οἵχεςθαι. Lit. who died before being sent away etc., i.e. ‘whose death forestalled their dismissal’. Such illogical expression is not uncommon. Cf. the superlative with ἄλλων, ch. 176 n. *Stein* supposes the omission of τοὺς συμμάχους.

5. γράμματα λέγοντα τάδε. Cf. ch. 220.

6. μυριάσιν τριηκοσίαις. In round numbers; *Hdt.* himself estimates the whole fighting force, marine included, at less than three millions. Cf. ch. 185.

7. χιλιάδες τέτορες. The *Thespians* are probably here included. Counting these, and excluding the *Thebans* and *Opuntian Locrians*, whose numbers are not given, the total would amount to 3800, in round numbers 4000. From *viii.* 25 we learn that many *Helots* were among the slain, but these would not be counted. The monument, though specially dedicated to those who fell on the spot, was plainly a memorial of the whole defence of the Pass and of all who fought there.



8. τοῖσι πᾶσι. The whole army; cf. ch. 153 on τοῦ ἅπαντος.

10. ἀγγέλλειν. Cf. ch. 141 n.

Cicero (Tusc. i. 42) gives this rendering:

*Dic, hospes, Spartae nos te hic vidisse iacentes,  
Dum sanctis patriae legibus obsequimur.*

13. Μεγιστία. Doric gen.

17. ἐπιγράμμασι καὶ στήλησι. Separate epitaphs in memory of the Thespians and Locrians are also extant:—

(1) Ἄνδρες τοί ποτ' ἔναιον ὑπὸ κροτάφοις Ἑλικῶνος  
Λήματα τῶν αὐχεῖ Θεσπιάς εὐρύχορος.

(2) Τούσδε ποθεῖ φθιμένους ὑπὲρ Ἑλλάδος ἀντία Μήδων  
Μητρόπολις Λοκρῶν εὐθινόμων Ὀπείς.

Cf. Stein s. l. Strabo mentions five στήλαι in all, p. 425. The death of Leonidas in special was a favourite theme for epigrams; see the Anthology.

ἔξω ἤ. ἤ with acc. replaces the customary gen. Cf. ch. 29, ἔξω σευ.

20. Σιμωνίδης ὁ Λεωπρέπεις, ὁ Κήϊος of v. 102. All three inscriptions are ascribed to him, but for the two former he was no doubt paid; the last, at any rate, he set up at his own expense.

229 3. κοινῷ λόγῳ χρησαμένοισι. So simply κοινῷ λόγῳ, i. 141, ἔδοξε κοινῷ λόγῳ πέμπειν ἀγγέλους. Cf. κοινολογεῖσθαι, 'to make common cause with', vi. 23.

4. μεμετιμένοι. The reduplicated preposition is very remarkable; this form occurs three times in Hdt. Cf. v. 108, vi. 1.

6. κατεκέατο, 'were laid up'. Notice the difference between the Greek idiom and our own; cf. κατεσθίειν, to eat up, also δεῖν ἐκ, fasten on to, ἐγ-καταλιπεῖν, leave out, pass over. Cf. iii. 119.

12. τὸν ἐλῶτα. The Helot told off to be his special θεραπῶν. The numbers of the Helots at Thermopylae is uncertain; in the Plataean army each Spartan was attended by seven.

15. λειποψυχέοντα, 'failing in courage', usually of swooning.

16. λειφθῆναι, 'stayed away'. Cf. ch. 8 (18) n.  
 εἰ μὲν ἦν...Σπάρτην, 'if it had been that A. only, etc.' Cf.  
 ch. 128 (18), εἰ ἐστι ἐξαγαγεῖν, where ἐστι=ἔξεστι.

18. κομιδὴν, 'return', frequently of retreat, safe escape.  
 Cf. ch. 170, viii. 19, 108.

19. μῆνιν...προσθέσθαι. Cf. iv. 65, πόλεμόν οἱ προσεθήκαντο.  
 προσέθεντο, εἶχε have been attracted into the Infin. by δοκέειν.  
 Cf. ch. 148 n.

21. τῆς αὐτῆς... the very same, i.e. not a whit more  
 urgent; cf. ch. 209, n. on τοσοῦτοι.

ἐχομένου. Cf. ch. 5 (7).

5. καταλαβεῖν...γινομένην, 'to find the battle still raging'. 230  
 Cf. καταλαμβάνομενοι, 'when overtaken', ch. 211. Cf. also ch.  
 38 (11) n.

2. ὄνειδος. Reproach, as distinguished from material dis- 231  
 grace.

3. ἀτιμίην. ἀτιμία varied at Sparta according to the  
 nature of the offence and circumstances; thus a milder form  
 was inflicted on the returned Sphacterian captives, while the  
 survivors of Leuctra were left unpunished owing to political  
 considerations.

4. οὔτε...ἔναυε. Symbolical of entire exclusion from all  
 intercourse with the rest of the citizens; under ordinary cir-  
 cumstances the giving of fire was a sacred duty.

5. ὁ τρέσας. 'The fugitive', in the Homeric sense. Cf.  
 Tyrtaeus, Fr. x. 14:

τρεσσάντων δ' ἀνδρῶν πᾶς ἀπόλωλ' ἀρετή.

7. ἀνέλαβε, 'retrieved'. Cf. viii. 109, ἀναλαμβάνειν τὴν  
 προτέρην κακότητα. v. 121, τὸ τρῶμα ἀνέλαβον. Soph. Ph. 1249,  
 τὴν ἁμαρτίαν αἰσχρὰν ἁμαρτῶν ἀναλαβεῖν πειράσομαι.

For the gallant death of Aristodemus at Plataea, cf. ix. 71.  
 Although in the opinion of Hdt. the bravest of those who fell  
 in the battle, he was granted no public honours, as having  
 courted death for its own sake.

1. ἄλλον, with τῶν τριηκοσίων τούτων.

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3. ὑπ' ἀναγκαίης ἐχόμενοι. For the different constructions 233  
 with ἔχεσθαι, cf. ch. 128 n.

8. χεῖρας προέτεινον. A common sign of submission; cf.

Thucyd. iv. 38, τὰς χεῖρας ἀνέσεισαν, and the Lat. *manus dare*.

10. ἐν πρώτοισι. Cf. ch. 132.

12. τοῦ τρώματος. Frequently in Hdt. of a bloody fight; cf. ch. 236, viii. 66, τὸ τρῶμα τὸ Λακωνικόν (of Thermopylae), but in vi. 132 of the victory of Marathon; cf. πόνος, ch. 190.

15. τῶν λόγων, i.e. of the truth of their words. The Thessalians were already with the Persians.

19. ἔστιζον στίγματα βασιλήϊα. Branding on the forehead was the special punishment of runaway slaves, and as such the Thebans might be considered, being found in arms against the Great King after having yielded him submission. Cf. ii. 113, where the devotees of a certain god are branded with στίγματα ἱρά.

21. χρόνῳ μετέπειτα, B.C. 431. For a full account of this seizure of Plataea, with which the Peloponnesian war opened, cf. Thucyd. ii. 2—5. According to Thucydides, Eurymachus, ἀνὴρ Θηβαίων δυνατώτατος, had negotiated the betrayal of Plataea with a faction in the city, though not actually in command of the Theban force, and was among the 180 afterwards put to death by the Plataeans.

22. τετρακοσίων, ὀλίγῳ πλείους τριακοσίων. Thucyd. l. c.

234 3. ἐνθένδε. From this point, i.e. 'thus'.

5. τῇ ἀληθείῃ, 'from your truthfulness'.

6. οὔτω, i.e. ὡς εἶπας.

7. τοιοῦτοι. Cf. ch. 29 (17) n.

8. εἴτε = ἢ εἰ, as though answering to a previous εἴτε instead of ὁκόσοι.

9. πλήθος—πολλόν. Predic. 'The whole body of L. form a large multitude.' Cf. ch. 188 n.

12. ἀνδρῶν ὀκτακισχιλίων. 8000 warriors; of these, 5000 fought at Plataea, ix. 10. Lycurgus, according to tradition, divided the land into 9000 equal κλῆροι, to be held by the several Spartan families in return for military service to the State. The number of Spartans able to fulfil the strict requirements of the Lycurgan military discipline must therefore have already diminished. During the Peloponnesian war (B.C. 418) they fell to 6000. Cf. ch. 205 note.

17. τὰς διεξόδους, 'the ins and outs'.

1. εἰ...δὴ, 'since indeed'.

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2. συμβουλεύει. Cf. ch. 237 (15).

3. εἰ ἀποστελείας. Cf. ch. 160 (13) n.

6. Χίλων. One of the Seven wise men. Cf. i. 59, where we learn that he warned the future father of Pisistratus against marrying.

7. κέρδος μέζον...μᾶλλον ἤ. Cf. ch. 50 (7) n.

11. πάντα, every, i.e. 'any'. The fears of Chilon found their justification in the Peloponnesian war, when the Athenians seized and garrisoned the island, B.C. 424.

13. ὀρμεόμενοι φοβεόντων, sc. οἱ ἐν ταῖς νηυσί. Cf. ch. 147. For ὀρμεόμενοι, cf. ch. 22 (5) n.

17. ἤδη. Marking the step from ἀλικομένης to καταδουλωθείσης. Cf. ch. 184.

18. ταῦτα, i.e. what I advise, i.q. infra ἐκείνο.

21. συνομοσάντων ἐπὶ σοί. Cf. ch. 148.

1. Ἀχαιμένης. Cf. ch. 7.

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5. ἐκδεκόμενον, 'listening (with approbation) to'. Cf. infr. ch. 237.

6. προδιδοί. 'Tentative'; cf. viii. 128. Thus frequently in Thucyd. of treacherous negotiations.

8. τοῦ τε εὐτυχέειν...στυγέουσι. The idea of prosperity unassailed by envy was almost inconceivable to the Greek mind. πρὸς τὸν ἔχονθ' ὁ φθόνος ἔρπει was a common sentiment.

9. τὸ κρέσσον, i.q. τοὺς κρέσσονας. Cf. τὸ Λακωνικόν, supra. ἐπὶ...τύχησι, 'to add to our present disasters', 'after', as a climax.

10. τῶν νέες, 'of those ships, of which....' Stein reads ἐκ τῶν.

14. δυσμεταχείριστος γίνεται. γίνεσθαι is often almost equivalent to a future, inasmuch as it expresses the process of summing up, ending in the result which follows from what has been stated. Cf. the regular use in addition of numbers. See ch. 184, 185.

19. γνώμην ἔχε. 'Resolve to'; more frequently, γν. ἔχειν with the Infin. is 'to believe that'.

20. τῇ στήσονται. Cf. ch. 175.



25. τὸ παρὲν τρώμα, i.e. the loss of Leonidas and his 300.
- 237 3. ταῦτα. Cf. ch. 235.
4. ἔλπεται, 'deems'. Cf. ch. 192.
6. οὐ γὰρ δὴ κ.τ.λ. These words are a defence of γνώμη. D.'s error was merely one of judgment.
8. τῷ ἔόντι. Cf. ch. 209, the (general) truth.
10. τῇ σιγῇ. 'By his silence', i.e. by preserving a malicious silence.
12. πρόσω ἀρετῆς ἀνήκοι. Cf. ch. 157 n.
15. συμβουλευομένου—συμβουλεύσειε. συμβουλεύεσθαι, to consult; συμβουλεύειν, to give advice.
17. τινα. The warning is none the less significant for its indirectness. Cf. ch. 48 (9) n.
- 238 3. ἐκέλευσε κ.τ.λ. Pausanias was urged to avenge these insults on the body of Mardonius after Plataea, but indignantly rejected the advice, ix. 78.
8. γὰρ ἄν, 'for else'.
9. ἐπεὶ κ.τ.λ. Cambyses had nevertheless outraged the body of Amasis with even greater malice, iii. 16. For Persian admiration of valour, cf. ch. 181.
- 239 1. Ἄνεμι κ.τ.λ. Cf. ch. 138, ἐπάνεμι δὲ ἐπὶ τὸν πρότερον λόγον.
- τοῦ λόγου. Partitive, 'to that point in my narrative'. ἐκέισε, ch. 220.
2. ἐξέλιπε. Fell short, was incomplete. ἐπιλείπειν (ch. 43) and ἀπολείπειν (ch. 117) are more commonly used intransitively.
4. οὕτω, i.e. πυνθόμενοι.
5. τὸ ἐς Δελφούς. Ch. 37 (9) n.
8. τὸ οἰκός. Cf. ch. 167.
9. συμμαχεται. Cf. v. 65, συντυχίη...σύμμαχος. iv. 47, τῶν ποταμῶν ἑόντων συμμαχῶν, and supra ch. 5, ὁ λόγος ἦν τιμωρός.
10. πάρεστι. 'It is in our power', cf. ch. 229 παρὲν. 'We, knowing what we do of D., are in a position to judge', etc.
11. καί, not 'also', but 'even', or 'actually'.
16. δελτίον δίπτυχον. A folding tablet of wax preserved in a wooden frame, the outside also being of wood. Cf. the

device of Histiaeus, who made his slave's head serve the purpose of a δελτίον, v. 35.

25. ἐπιφρασθεῖσα, 'having discovered' (the contrivance).

Cf. iv. 200, τὰ δρύγματα...ἀνεῦρε ὧδε ἐπιφρασθεῖς.

αὐτῇ, 'by her own wit'.

26. καὶ εὐρήσειν. Cf. ch. 220.

28. ἐπελέξαντο. Cf. ch. 7 (1) n.

29. ἐπέστειλαν, 'sent the news'. Cf. iii. 40, γράψας ἐς βιβλίον τάδε, ἐπέστειλε ἐς Σάμον. Cf. ἐπιστολή, originally a message, or injunction, hence later, 'a letter'.

This was not the first occasion on which the wit of Gorgo had proved of service to Sparta. It was her childish exclamation, when only eight or nine years of age, which roused her father to give a resolute refusal to the offered bribes of Aristagoras the Ionian, v. 51.



## APPENDIX.

### DIALECT.

So little can be stated with absolute certainty about the dialect of Herodotus that the matter is not an easy one to handle in an elementary work. A rough and necessarily imperfect sketch of Herodotean usages is, therefore, all that has been attempted. This may, it is hoped, be sufficient to guide the student to some extent, without perplexing him too much with debateable points and varying forms. In very few and those simple cases only has any philological explanation been referred to. For this purpose free use has been made of Krüger's '*Griechische Sprachlehre*', 5th ed. Leipzig, 1875; also of Merzdorff's *Essays in Curtius' Studien*, and G. Meyer's *Griechische Grammatik*, 2nd ed.

The great difficulty in determining the true reading in the text of Herodotus is caused chiefly by two facts:—

(1) That while Ionic Greek itself consisted of four different dialects, our author in all probability used a literary form of speech, which did not exactly correspond to the colloquial language of any of these as found in inscriptions. How far, therefore, inscriptions should be used as a standard, is still an open question (*Erman Curtius' Studien*, v.).

(2) The very great variety of readings, and the inconsistencies of the mss., and, above all, the fact that we cannot altogether trust the authority of any one of the mss., since there is good reason to believe that the text was tampered with at a very early date by grammarians and copyists, who tried to reconcile the forms of Hdt. with their own theories, and with known Homeric or Attic usage.

### A. VOWELS.

#### I. *Attic α.*

ᾱ, frequently represented by Herodotean η,

e.g. σοφίη, νεινίης, θώρηξ, (ἄήρ) ἡέρος, λίην, πρήσσω.

repr. by η,

e.g. διπλήσιος, πολλαπλήσιος.

ᾱ repr. by ε. This only occurs with ρ. The original (r) 'sonant r' is found here in its strong form ερ, instead of its weak form αρ.

e.g. ἔρσην, τέσσερες.



## II.

- repr. by α. Here too α represents a 'sonant' nasal or liquid in its weaker form.  
 μεγθος, τμμνω, τρπω, give  
 μέγαθος, τάμνω, τράπω.  
 ε repr. by ει before semi-vowels,  
 e.g. ξείνος (ξέννος from ξενFος), είρωτάν,  
 εἶρομαι (εργομαι), εἰνακόσιοι (έννα from ένFa).  
 repr. by η,  
 e.g. βασιλητή, ἀληθητή (ἀληθε(σ)ιη).

For a full discussion of this last point, see Johansson in Bezzenberger's Beiträge, 15. 175.

## III.

- η { repr. by α,  
 e.g. λάξις, μεσαμβρίη, λέλασμαι.  
 repr. by ε,  
 e.g. ἔσσω (perhaps fr. analogy to κρέσσων, B. II.),  
 ἔσσοῦσθαι.

## IV.

- ι, repr. by ιη. Probably due to mixture of ī and iē stems.  
 e.g. πολιήτης.

- ι, repr. by ι,

e.g. ἰρὸς (probably fr. ισ-ρος. Att. ιερὸς fr. parallel form ισ-ερος).

## V.

- ο { repr. by α. Here too the change is due to a 'sonant' r appearing in its weakest form αρ, instead of the stronger ορ.  
 e.g. ἀρρωδέω.  
 repr. by ε,  
 e.g. πεντηκόντερος (-ορ and -ερ alike come fr. ερ- 'row').  
 repr. by ου, esp. before λ, ν, ρ, σ. Where a rough breathing occurs in Attic, it is lost;  
 e.g. οὔνομα, νοῦσος (but νοσέειν), οὔρος (for ὄρος).

N.B. The origin of these forms in ου is different, and somewhat doubtful; νοῦσος is probably due to some analogy. See Meyer p. 90.

## VI.

- ω, repr. by ο: ζόη.

## B. DIPHTHONGS.

## I.

- repr. by  $\eta\upsilon$ ,  
 e.g.  $\gamma\rho\eta\upsilon\varsigma$ ,  $\nu\eta\upsilon\varsigma$ .  
 $\alpha\upsilon$  {     "      $\omega\upsilon$ ,  
           e.g.  $\theta\omega\upsilon\mu\alpha$ ,  $\acute{\epsilon}\mu\epsilon\omega\nu\tau\omicron\upsilon$ .  
        "      $\omega$ ,  
           e.g.  $\tau\rho\tilde{\omega}\mu\alpha$ .

## II.

- repr. by  $\epsilon$ . In *adjs.* in  $-\epsilon\iota\omicron\varsigma$ , e.g.  $\beta\acute{o}\epsilon\omicron\varsigma$ ,  $\acute{\epsilon}\pi\iota\tau\acute{\eta}\delta\epsilon\omicron\varsigma$ .  
 In *fem.'s of adjs.* in  $-\upsilon\varsigma$ , e.g.  $\delta\alpha\sigma\acute{\epsilon}\alpha$  ( $i$  before foll. vowel became semi-vowel  $i$  or  $y$ ,  $\delta\alpha\sigma\epsilon\iota\alpha$ , thence easily  $\delta\alpha\sigma\acute{\epsilon}\alpha$ ).  
 $\epsilon\iota$  {     In *comparatives*, e.g.  $\kappa\rho\acute{\epsilon}\sigma\sigma\omega\nu$  (fr.  $\kappa\rho\epsilon\tau-$ ),  $\mu\acute{\epsilon}\zeta\omega\nu$  ( $\mu\epsilon\gamma\iota\omega\nu$ ).  
           In *certain forms of*  $\delta\epsilon\acute{\iota}\kappa\nu\mu\iota$ , e.g.  $\delta\acute{\epsilon}\zeta\omega$ ,  $\delta\acute{\epsilon}\zeta\alpha\sigma\theta\alpha\iota$ ,  $\delta\acute{\epsilon}\zeta\iota\varsigma$ .  
           (These forms may come from a different root,  $\delta\epsilon\kappa-$ .)  
           In the *prep.*  $\epsilon\iota\varsigma$ , alw.  $\acute{\epsilon}\varsigma$  in Hdt.  
 repr. by  $\iota$ , e.g.  $\iota\kappa\epsilon\lambda\omicron\varsigma$ .

III.  $\epsilon\upsilon$  repr. by  $\iota$ ; e.g.  $\iota\theta\upsilon\varsigma$ . The words are, however, probably distinct.

- repr. by  $\epsilon\upsilon$  (and  $\epsilon\omicron$ ,  $\epsilon\omicron\upsilon$ , cf. F. (2)), when Att.  
 $\upsilon\upsilon$  replaces original  $\epsilon\omicron$ ,  $\epsilon\omicron\upsilon$ ,  
 e.g.  $\acute{\epsilon}\mu\epsilon\upsilon$ ,  $\acute{\alpha}\gamma\epsilon\upsilon$ ,  $\pi\omega\lambda\epsilon\upsilon\sigma\iota$ .  
 IV.  $\omicron\upsilon$  {     repr. by  $\omega$ ,  
           e.g.  $\gamma\hat{\omega}\nu$ ,  $\hat{\omega}\nu$ .

For Attic diphthongs formed by contraction see *infra*, F.

## C. CONSONANTS.

I. (1) Mutes found for corresponding aspirates in certain cases.  $\delta\acute{\epsilon}\kappa\omicron\mu\alpha\iota$  for  $\delta\acute{\epsilon}\chi\omicron\mu\alpha\iota$ ,  $\alpha\upsilon\tau\iota\varsigma$  for  $\alpha\upsilon\theta\iota\varsigma$ .

(2) Mutes not aspirated before a rough breathing, e.g.  $\omicron\upsilon\kappa$   $\omicron\upsilon\tau\omega\varsigma$ ,  $\acute{\alpha}\pi'$   $\omicron\upsilon$ ,  $\acute{\alpha}\pi\iota\eta\mu\iota$ ,  $\kappa\alpha\tau\acute{\alpha}\pi\epsilon\rho$ .

(3) Aspiration found in a different cons., e.g.  $\kappa\iota\theta\hat{\omega}\nu$ ,  $\acute{\epsilon}\nu\theta\alpha\upsilon\tau\alpha$ ,  $\acute{\epsilon}\nu\theta\epsilon\upsilon\tau\epsilon\nu$ .

II. (1)  $\kappa$  for  $\pi$  in adj. and adv. pronouns, e.g.  $\kappa\acute{o}\tau\epsilon\rho\omicron\varsigma$ ,  $\kappa\omicron\upsilon$ ,  $\delta\kappa\omicron\iota\delta\omicron\varsigma$ ,  $\delta\kappa\omega\varsigma$ , etc. (cf. Doric  $\pi\acute{o}\kappa\alpha$ ,  $\tau\acute{o}\kappa\alpha$  for  $\pi\acute{o}\tau\epsilon$ ,  $\tau\omicron\tau\epsilon$  etc.). [N.B.  $\kappa$  here represents the  $q$  of the original (Indo-Germanic) language.]

(2)  $\delta$  not alw. changed to  $\sigma$  before  $\mu$ , as in Attic, e.g.  $\iota\delta\mu\epsilon\nu$  for  $\iota\sigma\mu\epsilon\nu$ .

(3)  $\xi$  for  $\sigma\sigma$  in  $\delta\iota\xi\acute{o}\varsigma$ ,  $\tau\rho\iota\xi\acute{o}\varsigma$  (the words however seem not to be the same, G. Meyer).

## D.

Occasional absence of rough breathing, e.g. ἱρηξ, ἥως (ἔως), ἀτδης for ἄδης. The unaspirated are here the older forms.

## E.

(a) 'Prothetic vowel' missing,  
e.g. ὀρτή (Att. ἐορτή = ε-Forτη).

(b) Final vowel lost before cons. with assimilation of cons.  
ἀμβ- for ἀναβ-.

## F. CONTRACTION OF VOWELS.

Where in Attic two or more vowels are contracted into one, or a diphthong, in Hdt. they constantly retain their original form.

## (1) α preceding.

α with following vowel generally contracts, or else is replaced by ε, e.g. νικᾶς, τολμᾶ, προτιμῶν, ὥρων, γέρεα, κρεῶν. See *infra*, VIII.

In the following cases α remains uncontr.:

(1) Where traces of a F remain in Homer, πενταέτης.

(2) Where α is 'privative', e.g. ἀέκων.

(3) Where α is 'prothetic': e.g. ἀέθλον etc., ἀέρω (N.B. ἀρθεῖς and ἀερθεῖς both found), ἀείδω, ἀοιδός (but χρησμοφδέων).

(4) In 2nd pers. sing. first aorist mid., e.g. ἐργάσαιο (perhaps from analogy to ἐγένεο etc., and because -σα was a recognized mark of the first aorist), and in other verbal forms where required for clearness, e.g. δεδάηκε (ἀδαήμων) κατεκάη.

## (2) ε preceding.

εα as a general rule remains uncontr.: e.g. ἔτεα, ἔαρ, ἐπεᾶν, ὑγιεα, ὑπερφυεας.

εεα becomes εα, one ε falling out: e.g. ἐνδέα.

Exc.: ἦν (always), ἦλω, ἦνδανε (generally).

εαι, uncontr. βούλει.

εεαι. Generally εαι, but κομιαί (VII. 49) is disputed. Stein reads κομει, as ι preceding generally causes contr.

εε, uncontr. λιπάρεε, ἐδέετο, ἀδαέες.

Exc. (1) after ι, η: e.g. ἐπισιτιεῖσθαι, ἐθηεῖτο, and probably after ο and υ.

(2) In certain short imperatives: ὦθει, βοήθει.

(3) In ἡμεῖς, ὑμεῖς, σφεῖς.

N.B. This rule is not yet absolutely proved.

ει, generally uncontr. e.g. δοκέεις, αἰτέειν, ποιέειν.

Exc. (1) after ι, η, ο, υ.

(2) In 2nd Aor. Inf. where ειν is incorrect, e.g. βαλεῖν.

(3) In certain short and very common words, as δεῖ, δέιν.

ειη, generally uncontr., but contr. in some verbs, προσθῆ, θῆται, etc.

εο generally remains; sometimes ευ is found, e.g. ἐγένεο, ἐπῖκεο, ἑός, ἄγευ, πλεῦνας, μευ, σευ, ὄτευ. ου is never correctly found for εο.

εου remains uncontr., or becomes ευ: e.g. πωλέουσι, ἐπιτελεῖσι.

εω (orig. -αο-), uncontr. εεω becomes εω, δοκέω, ἀκλεῶς.

εοι, uncontr. before cons., contr. before vowel, αἰρέοι, ποιοῖτο.

εῦ, uncontr. εὐαεῖ, κρανέινα.

(3) ο preceding.

It may here be given as a general rule, that there is no contraction where the word is obviously, in form and meaning, a compound: e.g. νεοάλωτοι, χειροθήης. In other cases ο contracts with the foll. vowel; e.g. ἐβῶσε, ἐβῶθεον, ὀγδώκοντα.

οαν contracts into ων,

e.g. ἐμεωντοῦ (hence ἐμεωυτῶ, etc. by analogy).

## G. CRASIS.

The forms used by Hdt. in *crasis* should be noticed:

ο and α gen. become ω. ὠνθρωπος, τῶρχαῖον, so too ου and αυ after ο become ων, τῶντοῦ.

ὁ ἕτερος and τὸ ἕτερον give οὔτερος and τοὔτερον; for loss of asp. cf. C. I.

## H. ACCIDENCE.

I. *The Article*. As in Att.; exc. that the locative forms τοῖσι, τῇσι are used for the dat. pl. For the relative and demonstrative use of the art. see Notes, ch. 6.

II. 1st Decl. Fem.  $\left. \begin{array}{l} -\eta -\eta\varsigma -\eta -\eta\acute{\nu} \\ -\alpha \quad -\alpha\nu \end{array} \right\}$  Pl. -αι -εων -ησι -ας.

Masc. -ης -εω -η -ην, Pl. -αι -εων -ησι -ας.

Dual not used.

N.B. Gen. Masc. -εω = αο = α(σy)ο, cf. F. (1).

For long ā becoming -η cf. A. I. θεὰ and some proper names are exc.

Note A. Some words have 'heteroclite forms' (formed fr. a dif. stem). δεσπότης, acc. δεσπότην and δεσπότηα. So κυ-



βερνήτεια, ἀκινάκην and ἀκινάκεια, -eos -η and -εῖ, acc. pl. -eas. Also many proper names in -ης have acc. in -εα. *Ξέρξεα*.

III. 2nd Decl. As in Att. Dat. pl. in -οισι.

N.B. Forms found in -εων for gen. pl. are almost certainly corrupt.

IV. Attic Decl. Used regularly in certain proper names, e.g. *Μενέλεως*. For Att. νεῶς, λεῶς, λαγῶς, κάλως, Hdt. uses νηὸς, ληὸς, λαγὸς, κάλος. N.B. τὸν λεῶν also occurs.

V. 3rd Decl.

There is little to notice here.

Stem ὀδοντ- gives nom. ὀδῶν for Att. ὀδοῦς.

„ μην- has „ μείς „ μήν.

ἀπολις (Att. stem ἀπολιδ-) gives dat. ἀπόλι.

Θέτις („ „ Θετιδ-) „ „ Θέτι.

ἄχαρις („ „ ἀχαριτ-) „ „ ἀχάρι.

Stems in -ει declined as ι stems :

e.g. πόλις -ιος -ῖ -ιν— -ιες -ίων -ισι(ν) -ῖς (-ιας).

N.B. Dat. sg. -ει, nom. pl. -ις and -εις, and acc. pl. -εις which occur (rarely) in the mss. are probably erroneous.

In -ευ. πῆχυς -εος -εῖ -υν— -εες -εων -εσι -εας.

ἄστυ -εος -εῖ -υ— -εα -εων -εσι -εα.

In ἰχθὺς -ύος etc. Hdt. follows Attic usage. The acc. pl. *Αἰβυας, ἰχθύας, ὀφρύας* occur (rarely).

In -ες. These are declined regularly without contr., e.g. *τρίηρος, -εα, τείχεος, τείχεϊ* etc.

In -ω, contr. as in Attic: *Γοργοῦς*.

In -ην. βασιλεύς -έος -εῖ -έα— -έες -έων -εῦσι -έας.

νηὺς (Att. ναῦς), νεός, νηῖ, νέα— νέες, νεῶν, νηυσί, νέας.

Forms with -η, νῆες, etc. do occur; also acc. pl. ναῦς.

VI. Adjectives.

For adjs. in -εος see F. (2). Those in -οος also remain uncontr.: *διπλός -όη -όον*, though varying forms are found.

For fem. adjs. in -υς see B. II.

The foll. forms, which differ from the Attic, should be noted:—

*πολλός -ή -όν, πλέος, ἀξιόχρεος, σόος, σῶος, ζῶος*, also these comparatives:—

*πλέων, πλέονος, πλεῦνος* or *(πλεοῦς)*.

*ταχύτερος*.

*σπουδαιέστερος*.

VII. *Pronouns.*

1st pers. gen. ἐμέο, ἐμεῦ and μεῦ, Pl. gen., acc., ἡμέων, ἡμέας.

2nd pers. gen. σέο and σεῦ, dat. σοὶ and τοι, Pl. gen., acc. ὑμέων, ὑμέας.

3rd pers. εἰ or εἶ, οἷ, εἰ or μιν, Pl.  $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \sigmaφῆῖς \\ \sigmaφέα \end{array} \right.$  σφέων, σφίσιν and σφι,  $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \sigmaφέας \text{ and } \sigmaφε \\ \sigmaφέα \end{array} \right.$ .

The Rel. pron. ὅς, ἥ, τὸ—οἷ, αἷ, τὰ is used as well as the article H. I.

*Interrog. (and Indef.) Pron.*

$\left. \begin{array}{l} τίς \\ τί \end{array} \right\} \begin{array}{l} \text{τέο and τεῦ, τίνι, τέφ or τῷ} \end{array} \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{τίνα.} \\ \text{τι.} \end{array} \right.$

Pl.  $\left. \begin{array}{l} \text{τίνες} \\ \text{τίνα} \end{array} \right\} \begin{array}{l} \text{τέων, τέοισι} \end{array} \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{τίνας} \\ \text{τίνα.} \end{array} \right.$

*Rel.*

$\left. \begin{array}{l} \delta\sigma\tau\iota\varsigma \\ \delta\tau\iota \end{array} \right\} \begin{array}{l} \delta\tau\epsilon\upsilon, \delta\tau\epsilon\omega \end{array} \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \delta\upsilon\tau\iota\upsilon\alpha, \eta\gamma\tau\iota\upsilon\alpha. \\ \delta\tau\iota \end{array} \right.$

Pl.  $\left. \begin{array}{l} \alpha\iota\tau\iota\upsilon\epsilon\varsigma, \alpha\iota\tau\iota\upsilon\epsilon\varsigma \\ \alpha\sigma\sigma\alpha \end{array} \right\} \begin{array}{l} \delta\tau\epsilon\omega\upsilon, \delta\tau\epsilon\acute{o}\iota\varsigma\iota \end{array} \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \alpha\upsilon\sigma\tau\iota\upsilon\alpha\varsigma \\ \alpha\sigma\tau\iota\upsilon\alpha\varsigma \\ \alpha\sigma\sigma\alpha. \end{array} \right.$

VIII. *The Verb.*

A. *The Augment.* The Augment is very frequently dropped, esp. the temporal augment; but the usage is so fluctuating that we shall not attempt to give any rules. For a full discussion of the subject see L'hardy, Quaestiones de Dial. Herod. C. I. Also Brugmann, Gr. Gr. § 109.

B. *Flexion.*

As stated above, vowels contracted in Attic are found in the full form exc. in certain cases. See F.

N.B. ἐλῶ, σκεδῶ, ἀποδοκιμῶ, δικῶ, are however found.

In *Pluperfect Act.* sing. the original endings -εα, -εας, -εε, are used: e.g. ἐώθεα, ἐγεγόνεε.

In *Middle and Passive* 3rd pers. pl. endings -αται, -ατο are largely used.

Originally -νται (primary), -ντο (secondary) appeared after a vowel, -αται, -ατο after a cons. The ν became 'sonant' before the following cons., and so passed into α.

(γεγραφνται = γεγραφνται = γεγραφαται).

E.g. φέρονται, ἐφέροντο, γεγράφαται, ἐτετάχατο.

In Hdt. the use of -αται, -ατο is widely extended, being constantly found after vowels; e.g. τιθέαται, ἐδεικνύατο, ἐκεκοσμέατο, ἐλοίατο. In this last the ι is really consonantal, ι.

As may be seen from the examples, these endings are used in Pres., Imperf., Perf., Pluperf., Indic., and Optat.

*Verbs in -αω* change α to ε before ο and ω, but contr., as in Attic, before ε. Cf. F (1).

E.g.	ὀρέω	ὀρέομεν
	ὀράς	ὀράτε
	ὀρά	ὀρέουσι.

Irreg. forms, ὀρώντες, ὀρώμεν, ὀρέωμεν, etc. are, however, found. See Johann., Bezz. Beitr. 15. 164. The forms in *ευ* occurring in MSS., e.g. εἰρώτευν, would seem to be certainly corrupt.

For *Verbs in -εω*, which do not contract, see F. (2).

For *Verbs in -οω*, which contract as in Attic, see F. (3).

*Verbs in -μι* shew many divergences from the Attic forms; we may notice:—

*Act. Ind. Pres.* διδοῖς, διδοῖ, τιθεῖ, 3rd pl. διδοῦσι, τιθεῖσι, ἰσῶσι, δεικνύσι.

*Imperf.* ἐτίθεα, 3rd pers. ἐτίθεε.

*Subj. Pres. and 2nd Aor.* With ε uncontr. (in ε and α stems), ἀπιέωσι, θέωμεν: so in Pass. δυνέωνται.

*1st Aor.* ἔθηκα, ἔδωκα, ἤκα are used both in sing. and pl. exc. 3rd pl. of ἤκα.

A particip. μεμετιμένος, fr. μετήμι, occurs three times.

εἰμι.

*Ind. Pres.* εἰμι, εἰς, ἐστί(ν), εἰμέν, ἐστέ, εἰσί(ν).

N.B. Att. εἷ is the older form coming from ἐ(σ)ι. In εἰς the *s* is added from analogy to φῆς, τίθης etc.

*Imp.* ἔα, ἔας, ἦν, ἔην and ἔσκε(ν), ἦμεν, ἔατε, ἔσαν and ἦσαν, ἔσκον.

*Subj.* ἔω, ἐῖ or ἦ, ἔωσι.

*Optat.* The Epic form ἔοι occurs once.

*Participle* with ε uncontr., ἐὼν etc.

εἰμι.

*Ind. Imp.* ἦα, ἦε, ἦσαν.

οἶδα.

οἶδας, ἴδμεν and οἶδαμεν, οἶδασι. The last two forms come through 'levelling' the pl. to the sing.

*Imperf.* ᾔδεα, ᾔδεε, ᾔδέατε.

*Fut.* εἰδήσω.

*Subj.* εἰδέω.

γίνομαι, not γίγνομαι, is always found.

ἤνεια etc., for ἤνεγκα etc.

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